

prp

5.22.05.

From the Library of
Professor Samuel Miller
in Memory of
Judge Samuel Miller Breckinridge
Presented by
Samuel Miller Breckinridge Long
to the Library of
Princeton Theological Seminary

55620
54

SCC
7437
v. 1

Sam^l. Miller's

1790

16/2 Volumes.

St. Michael

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES:

OR A

Sam. L. Miller's.

COURSE of LECTURES .

On the Three FIRST BOOKS of

GODWIN'S MOSES and AARON.

To which is annexed,

A

DISSERTATION

ON THE

HEBREW LANGUAGE.

By the late Rev. *DAVID JENNINGS*, D.D.

In TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

L O N D O N :

Printed for J. JOHNSON and B. DAVENPORT, at
the Globe in Paternoster-Row.

MDCCLXVI.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES:

OR A

COURSE OF LECTURES

ON THE FIRST BOOKS OF

GODWIN'S MOSES AND AARON.

To which is annexed,

A

DISSERTATION

ON THE

HEBREW LANGUAGE.

By the late Rev. DAVID JENNINGS, D.D.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.


L O N D O N :

Printed for J. Johnson and E. Davison, at
the Golden Rule in Pall-mall.

MDCCLXXV



THE
P R E F A C E
BY THE
E D I T O R.

 HE learned and worthy author originally composed the following treatise for the private use of those theological pupils, who studied under his own direction; and it is now offered to the publick, as deserving the perusal of all, who would obtain an intimate acquaintance with the sacred oracles, especially with the Old Testament; as well as of those whose profession leads them more directly to the study of divinity. Many passages of the word of God are here skilfully explained and illustrated, and many more may be so, by a judicious

dition application of that knowledge of jewish antiquities which is comprized in these lectures. The representation made in them of the rites, customs and opinions of the Jews, chiefly respects those which are found in scripture; for the clear understanding of which, besides carefully examining and comparing the accounts given in the sacred code, and deriving as much light as possible from that fountain, the author hath called in the assistance of Josephus and Philo, and on some occasions, of the jewish rabbies, as well as of a great variety of other writers, both ancient and modern, who have treated concerning the Jews and their affairs. Of the rabbinical writers he had indeed a very mean opinion, both in respect to the credit due to them, as relaters of ancient facts, or of established customs and opinions; and in respect to their judgment, as interpreters of scripture. Maimonides, Aben-Ezra and Abarbanel, are the most eminent of this class, and almost the only persons amongst them, who discover a judicious and rational turn of mind. Of Maimonides in particular it is said, that he was the first Jew, who ceased to trifle, qui desinit desipere. But even these authors, though more respectable than most of their brethren, come too late, to have much stress laid upon their report of the sentiments and practices of the ancient Jews, if not supported

ported or countenanced by scripture, or by some other writer of more antiquity and greater authority than themselves.

Though the learned author chose to execute his design upon the plan of the three first books of Godwin's Moses and Aaron, his work nevertheless doth not consist of detached remarks on the text of that writer, but of distinct and compleat dissertations on the subjects treated of by him, and on some others which he hath omitted; insomuch that it is not necessary to have recourse continually to Godwin, in the perusal of the following volumes; which must have been the reader's disagreeable task, had this work been a collection of short notes and observations. In one or two places the editor hath taken the liberty of inserting either from Godwin or from Hottinger's notes upon him, what seemed necessary to compleat the subject, and render the discourse regular and uniform; particularly in the chapter on the gates of Jerusalem, which in the author's MS copy consisted merely of what the reader will here find on the miracle which our Saviour wrought at the pool of Bethesda; situated as some suppose, near the sheep-gate. Nevertheless though it is not requisite frequently to turn to Godwin, in perusing this work, for a compleat view of the subject, yet if the correspondent chapters in the

two

two treatises are read in conjunction, we shall see reason, on the comparison, to entertain the higher opinion of the industry with which our learned author hath collected his materials, and of the judgment and skill with which he hath discussed the particular subject before him.

The editor hath taken care all along, to insert the words of the texts of scripture, which occur, and which in the manuscript were only quoted by the chapter and verse. The author might reasonably expect from his pupils, that the passages referred to should be carefully consulted; but it would have been irksome and tedious to the generality of readers, to be continually turning to passages of scripture, in order to understand the meaning of the author's observations upon them, or reasoning from them. And the necessity the editor was under of introducing the texts, obliged him to make some small alterations in the phraseology, especially in the connective particles and sentences, and even a few transpositions, in order to introduce them consistently with the regularity and uniformity of the whole.

The references to authors, either for proof or illustration, which are very numerous, have for the most part been carefully examined, and made very particular, for the benefit of those who are disposed to consult

consult the authorities on which the author relies, or those writers who have treated more largely on the subject. For want of producing his authorities, Lewis's Jewish Antiquities, which are otherwise valuable, are very unsatisfactory to a man who is desirous not only to know what hath been said, but by whom it hath been said, and what credit it deserves.

With respect to the dissertation on the hebrew language, it may be observed, that the author once thought more highly of the antiquity and authority of the masoretic readings and of the vowel-points, than he did after perusing the ingenious and learned Dr. Kennicott's two dissertations, especially his second, on the hebrew text; by which the author, as well as the generality of the learned world, was convinced, they deserved not that extravagant and superstitious regard, which the credit of the two Buxtorfs, and of some other eminent hebraicians in the last age, had procured them from men of letters. Once in particular he expressed his sentiments on this subject to the editor, and gave some general idea of his intended alteration in the dissertation on the jewish language; which it is presumed, he was prevented from accomplishing by the declining state of his health, for some time before his decease. The editor hath endeavoured to supply this little defect in
some

some measure, by inserting a few references to and observations from Dr. Kennicott, and by softening a few expressions in conformity with the author's latest sentiments on this head.

The reader will observe some digressions, in the earlier part of the work especially, to subjects which have an affinity to those of which the author is treating. Some of these the editor hath thrown into notes, and might perhaps have done it with a few more, particularly in the chapter on the patriarchal government. As most of these relate to illustrations of scripture, the author was willing to indulge himself in them; declaring to his pupils, that he never thought himself out of his way, while he was explaining the sacred oracles. However these digressions are not numerous, and chiefly at the beginning of the work.

Though these volumes professedly treat of the subjects, which are contained in the three first books of Godwin, yet several things are occasionally introduced relative to the subjects of his three last books; which was one reason, why the author did not proceed to the particular consideration of them. Another was, that the three first books comprize all the subjects which relate to the sacred or ecclesiastical antiquities of the Hebrews, and which are peculiarly requisite to the understanding of the jewish, and

and consequently in some measure, of the christian scheme of theology.

This piece of Godwin, stiled Moses and Aaron, the method of which our author chose to follow, hath been annotated and commented upon by a variety of authors. One of the most judicious, who have favoured the publick with their lucubrations, is Hottinger. There are two sets of annotations in manuscript, one by the learned Witfius, which he read to his students in the university of Leyden; a copy of which was in the hands of Dr. Jennings, who hath been in a few instances, and but in a few, beholden to it. Another annotator whose performance is yet in manuscript, was the learned Mr. Samuel Jones of Tewksbury. His work, of which there are several copies extant, is written in neat Latin, and contains very valuable remarks, which discover his great learning and accurate knowledge of his subject. From this writer the editor hath inserted a note in vol. II. p. 71. and in a few other places. Dr. Jennings never saw Mr. Jones's annotations, though there is a similitude in a few of their observations, they having both been in possession of a copy of Witfius. But the doctor's own work supasses the performances of both these learned writers, as in some other respects, so particularly in compass and variety, and as it contains the opinions and improvements of later authors.

And

And it is hoped it will answer the end for which it was originally composed, and is now published, the advancement of religion and learning, and the knowledge of those oracles of God, which are able to make us wise to salvation.

Philip Furneaux.





THE
CONTENTS
OF THE
FIRST VOLUME.
BOOK I.

CONCERNING Persons.

CHAP. I. Page
Of the form of the Hebrew commonwealth. 3

CHAP. II.
Of the Publicans and taxes. 82

CHAP. III.
Israelites and Profelytes. 99

CHAP. IV.
Of the Kings. 163

CHAP. V.
Of the High-priests, Priests, Levites and Ne-
thinim. 190

CHAP. VI.
Of the Prophets. 342

CHAP.

C O N T E N T S.

	Page
C H A P VII.	
Of the title Rabbi.	407
C H A P. VIII.	
Of the Nazarites and Rechabites	415
C H A P IX.	
Of the Affideans and Karraites	430
C H A P. X.	
Of the Pharisees	437
C H A P. XI.	
Of the Sadducees and Samaritans	455
C H A P. XII.	
Of the Effenes	463
C H A P XIII.	
Of the Gaulonites and Herodians	473





JEWISH ANTIQUITIES:

BOOK the FIRST

Concerning Persons.





CH A P. I.

Of the form of the HEBREW commonwealth.

THE ancient state and form of the hebrew government may be distinguished into patriarchal and special. The patriarchal universally prevailed in the first ages. By special, we mean the government peculiar to the people of Israel, from the time of their entrance into Egypt to the end of their polity.

Of the patriarchal form of government.

I. The patriarchal form (so called from *Πατρια* familia, and *αρχων* princeps) is defined by Godwin to consist, in “the fathers of families, and their first-born after them, exercising all kinds of ecclesiastical and civil authority in their respective households; blessing, cursing, casting out of doors, disinheriting and punishing with death.”

It is natural to suppose, that Adam, the father of all mankind, would be considered as

supreme amongst them, and have special honour paid him, as long as he lived; and that when his posterity separated into distinct families and tribes, their respective fathers would be acknowledged by them as their princes. For as they could not, in any tolerable manner, live together without some kind of government, and no government can subsist without some head in whom the executive power is lodged, whom were the children so likely, after they grew up, to acknowledge in this capacity, as their father, to whose authority they had been used to submit in their early years? And hence those, who were at first, only acknowledged as kings over their own households, grew insensibly into monarchs of larger communities, by claiming the same authority over the families which branched out from them, as they had exercised over their own. However, the proper patriarchal government is supposed to have continued among the people of God, until the time of the Israelites dwelling in Egypt; for then we have the first intimation of a different form of government among them.

Our author hath perhaps assigned greater authority to the patriarchs than they reasonably could, or did claim, and exercise; at least, the instances he produces to prove they were ordinarily invested with such a despotic power, “in civilibus & sacris”, as he ascribes to them, are not sufficiently convincing.

That there was some civil government in the first ages, is supposed to appear from the history of Cain, who was not only banished, but was apprehensive he should be punished with death, for the murder of his brother Abel.

“ And

“ And Cain said unto the Lord, my punishment is greater than I can bear. Behold thou hast driven me out this day from the face of the earth: and from thy face shall I be hid, and I shall be a fugitive and a vagabond in the earth; and it shall come to pass, that every one that findeth me shall slay me (*a*).” Where אדמה *adhamah*, which we render the earth, may signify his native country, viz. that part of the world where Adam dwelt, where himself was born, and where his nearest kindred and acquaintance lived; this word, as well as ארץ *arets*, being frequently applied to a particular country, as to the land of Canaan (*b*), to the land of Egypt (*c*); and to several others *.

By “ the face of God from which he was hid ” or banished, is properly meant what the Jews called the *Shechinah*, a shining light or glory, in which God was wont to manifest his presence, and to present himself as a visible object of worship, and from which he gave oracles, as he did afterward in the Jewish tabernacle over the mercy-seat; though St. Chrysostom understands his being “ hid from the face of God,” of the divine Being’s withdrawing his gracious presence from him, and putting him from under his protection.

Many have thought that upon his being thus banished from the divine presence he turned idolater, and set up the worship of the sun, as the best resemblance of the *Shechinah*, or visible divine glory; and thus they account for

B 3

the

(*a*) Gen. iv. 13, 14. (*b*) Gen. xxviii. 15. (*c*) Exod. viii. 17.

* Vid. Stockii Clav. in verb.

the early introduction of that most general, and most ancient kind of idolatry.

The reason why this lighter punishment of banishment was inflicted on him, instead of that severer one of death, which his crime had merited, is supposed to be either, first, that he might continue a living example of divine vengeance, in order to deter others from the like crime; whereas had he been put to death, the criminal and his punishment might soon have been forgotten: or, secondly, as Grotius conceives, because there being yet but few inhabitants in the world, it was fit he should be suffered to live for the propagation of the species; or at least an example of severity was less requisite, as there were not many who were likely to be exposed to such outrages*.

However, it appears, that Cain being sensible of his deserts, was afraid the punishment of death would be inflicted on him; for he adds, "I shall be a fugitive and a vagabond on the earth; and it shall come to pass, that every one that findeth me shall slay me:" that is, either as a common enemy, or at least, as one banished and outlawed, and not under the protection of the government.

It follows, "(a) and the Lord said unto him, therefore whoever slayeth Cain, vengeance shall be taken on him seven-fold:" that is, as some understand it, to the seventh generation; or it may rather be a definite number for an indefinite†; and so the meaning is, he shall endure

* De jure belli et pacis, lib. 1. cap. 2. §. 5.

(a) Gen. iv. 15.

† Instances of this you have in Psal. xii. 6. cxix, 164. and Prov. xxiv. 16. and many other places.

C. I. Patriarchal government.

7

deare many punishments, or shall be severely punished.

“ And the Lord set a mark upon Cain, lest any finding him should slay him.” Many are the conjectures both of Jews and Christians (some of them ridiculous enough) concerning this mark. Some will have it, God stigmatized him with a brand in his forehead, to denote his being accursed; others, that he had a wild aspect, and bloody eyes, which rolled in a horrid manner. The fathers, in general, suppose, that he had a continual trembling of the body, so that he could hardly get his food to his mouth. This opinion is favoured by the septuagint, which renders “ a fugitive and a vagabond,” *ερεων και τρεμων*, lamenting and trembling. Others tell us, that wherever he went, the earth shook under him. And another notion, (as well founded as any of the former,) is, that he had a horn growing out of his forehead, to warn people to avoid him. Le Clerc imagines, that God ordered him to wear some distinguishing garment, perhaps of some glaring colour, as a mark or sign upon him for his preservation; like the blood upon the door posts of the Israelites houses (*a*); or the scarlet line in Rahab’s window (*b*); for had he been cloathed only with the skins of wild beasts, as in those days men generally were, after the fashion of their first parents (*c*); he would have been very liable, whenever he had wandered in the woods and thickets, to have been shot at by some hunter, and perhaps killed through mistake. A similar instance you have in the fable of Cephalus and Procris.

B 4

However,

(*a*) Exod. xii. 13. (*b*) Josh. ii. 18. (*c*) Gen. iii. 21.

However, Dr. Shuckford's opinion is the most probable, who renders the words וישם יהוה לקין אות *vejasem Jehovah lecaïn oth*, "God gave to Cain a sign" or token, probably by some apparent miracle, that he would providentially protect him; so that none that met him should kill him *. In this sense the word אות *oth* is used, when the rainbow is called the אות *oth* that is the sign, or token, of the covenant which God made with Noah; whereby he assured him, that he would drown the world no more (*a*): and when Gideon desired, that the angel would shew him a sign, or some miraculous token, that he brought him a commission from God, and that he should be able to destroy the Midianites (*b*).

Another article in the history of the antediluvian ages, which is supposed to intimate, that there was a civil government then subsisting, is the story of Lamech. "Lamech said unto his wives, Adah and Zillah, hear my voice ye wives of Lamech, hearken unto my speech; for I have slain a man unto my wounding, and a young man to my hurt. If Cain shall be avenged seven-fold, truly Lamech seventy and seven-fold (*c*)."

This speech, which is introduced without any connection with the preceding history, has given interpreters not a little trouble. The jewish rabbies attempt to explain it by the help of a story, perhaps, of their own invention; that Lamech as he was hunting, being informed by a certain youth, that a wild beast lay lurking in a secret place, went thither, and unawares killed Cain, who lay

* Shuckford's Connect. vol. 1. p. 8.

(*a*) Gen. ix. 12,—17. (*b*) Judg. vi. 17. See also Psal. lxxxvi. 17. (*c*) Gen. iv. 23, 24.

lay hid there, with a dart; and then upon finding his mistake, in a fit of rage for what he had done, beat the youth to death; so that Cain was the man he had slain by wounding him; and the youth, the young man he had killed by hurting, or beating him. But as this story is without any foundation in scripture, we have no reason to look upon it in any other light than as a meer fable; though St. Jerom says it was received, as true by several Christians. Jacobus Capellus, in his *historia sacra & exotica*, fancies that Lamech being in a vapoury humour, was boasting of his courage, and what he would do if there was occasion: "I would, or will, kill a man, if he wounds me; and a young man, if he hurts me." But this version offers too much violence to the hebrew text: Onkelos, who wrote the first chaldee paraphrase on the Pentateuch, has given us an easier sense, reading the following words with an interrogation: "Have I slain a man to my wounding, and a young man to my hurt?" and accordingly he paraphrases it thus: "I have not killed a man, that I should bear the sin of it; nor have I destroyed a young man, that my offspring should be cut off for it." Dr. Shuckford has improved this interpretation, by supposing that Lamech was endeavouring to reason his wives and family out of their fear of having the death of Abel revenged upon them, who were of the posterity of Cain. As if he had said, "What have we done, that we should be afraid? We have not killed a man, nor offered any injury to our brethren of any other family; and if God would not allow Cain to be killed, who had murdered

murdered his brother, but threatened to take seven-fold vengeance on any that should kill him; doubtless they must expect much greater punishment, who should presume to kill any of us. Therefore we may surely look upon ourselves as safe under the protection of the law, and of the providence of God."

Having thus considered those parts of sacred history, which are produced as evidences of a civil government in the early ages of the world; we now proceed to examine the particular instances alledged, of that despotic power of the patriarchs, which our author ascribes to them.

The first is of Noah, who pronounced a curse upon Canaan, "Curfed be Canaan; a fervant of fervants shall he be unto his brethren. (a)

It may reasonably be believed, that Noah, being the second father of mankind, had, for a considerable time, the honour and authority of universal monarch; as Adam had before him. Some insist upon it, that Nimrod was the first, that drew off a party from their allegiance to Noah; and setting up for a king, proved an oppressive tyrant. Accordingly his being called גִּבּוֹר בְּאֶרֶץ gibbor baarets, which the septuagint renders *γίγας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς* (b), may refer, not to his stature, but to his power; for Hesychius makes *γίγας* to signify the same as *δυνατός, ισχυρός*, potens, robustus. Nimrod is expressly said to have set up "a kingdom (c);" and, just before (d), "to have been a mighty hunter before

(a) Gen. ix. 25.
(d) ver. 9.

(b) Gen. x. 8.

(c) ver. 10.

before the Lord." Which the Jerusalem-paraphrast interprets of a sinful hunting after the sons of men, to turn them off from the true religion. But it may as well be taken in a more literal sense, for hunting of wild beasts; inasmuch as the circumstance, of his being a mighty hunter, is mentioned with great propriety, to introduce the account of his setting up his kingdom; the exercise of hunting being looked upon in antient times, as a means of acquiring the rudiments of war *. For which reason the principal heroes of heathen antiquity, as Theseus, Nestor, &c. were, as Xenophon tells us, bred up to hunting. Besides, it may be supposed, that by this practise, Nimrod drew together a great company of robust young men to attend him in his sport; and by that means increased his power. And by destroying the wild beasts, which, in the comparatively defenceless state of society in those early ages, were, no doubt, very dangerous enemies, he might perhaps render himself further popular; thereby engaging numbers to join with him, and to promote his chief design of subduing men, and making himself master of nations.

But to return to Noah, and to the instance which our author assigns of his patriarchal authority, in denouncing a curse upon Cainan:

Unless it could be proved, that all the patriarchs were endowed with a prophetic spirit, as it was evident Noah was, when he foretold the fate of his three sons and their posterity;
it

* Vid. Xenophon. Cyrop. lib. 1. p. 10. edit. Hutch. Philon. Iud. de Joseph. ab initio, apud opera, p. 411. edit. Colon. Allobrog. et eundem de vita Mosis, p. 475. See these and other authors cited by Bochart in his *Geographia Sacra*, lib. 4. cap. 12.

it will by no means follow from the instance before us, that the authority of the patriarchs generally reached so far, as to pronounce effectual blessings and curses on their children and subjects. In short, in this affair Noah seems to have acted rather as a prophet, than as a patriarch: no argument therefore can be drawn from his conduct on this occasion, to prove the extent of the patriarchal power.

Some difficulties occur in this piece of sacred history, which we cannot pass over without attempting at least to explain them.

1st. It is inquired in what Ham's crime consisted?

The history informs us, that he "saw the nakedness of his father, and told his two brethren without (*a*)."
Now meerly seeing might be accidental, unavoidable, and no way criminal. We must therefore suppose, there was something more in the case than is plainly expressed.

Some jewish doctors make his crime to be castrating his father Noah, to prevent his having any more sons; lest his share, in the division of the world, should not be as large as he wished; which conceit some very grave authors have seriously refuted, from these words: "Noah awoke from his wine, and knew what his younger son had done unto him (*b*)."
They argue, that if Ham had performed so painful an operation upon his father, the anguish would undoubtedly have awoke him, and the criminal had been taken in the very fact.

Mr. Vander Hart, professor of the oriental languages in the university of Helmstad, is of opinion,

(*a*) Gen. ix. 22.

(*b*) ver. 24.

opinion, that Ham's crime was committing incest with his father's wife. But if we may suppose the narrations of Moses to be thus disguised, there will be hardly any depending upon a single fact he relates. The most probable, therefore, as well as the easiest account is this, that Ham told his brethren of what he had seen in a scornful manner. It is said, "he told his brethren without;" perhaps in the street, publickly before the people, proclaiming his father's shame with contempt and derision; the very sin to which such exemplary vengeance was afterwards threatned: "The eye that mocketh at his father, and despiseth to obey his mother, the ravens of the valley shall pick it out, and the young eagles shall eat it (a)."

2dly, It is inquired, why Noah denounced the curse, not on Ham himself, but on his son Cainan (b).

It might very likely be a reason, why Cainan is here so particularly mentioned by Moses, that hereby the Israelites might be encouraged to war against the Canaanites, who were the posterity of this Cainan; when they knew, that by a curse they were devoted to subjection and slavery; and that, on this account, they might be assured of victory over them.

But as to the reason of the curse's being denounced on Cainan:

1st. Some by Cainan understand Cainan's father; which is a very harsh interpretation.

2dly, The opinion of the hebrew doctors is, that Cainan first saw Noah in an indecent posture, and made a jest of it to his father Ham.

For

For proof of this they alledge the words already quoted, "Noah awoke from his wine, and knew what his younger son had done unto him (*a*)."

By בֶּנוֹ הַקָּטָן beno hakatan, which we render Noah's younger son, (*filius parvus*,) they understand his grandson. But this also is too forced an interpretation. For as גָּדוֹל gadhol, magnus, is elsewhere applied to Japhet, to signify his being the elder (*b*), so קָטָן katan, parvus, is most naturally, in this place, to be understood of the younger son.

3dly, The easiest solution of this difficulty, I conceive, is this, that what is commonly called a curse, in this place, is rather a prophecy. So that the words, "curfed be Cainan (*c*)," would better be rendered, "curfed shall Cainan be," that is, the posterity of Cainan, who from him were called Canaanites; for the blessings, which Noah emphatically pronounced upon his two other sons, related to their posterity; as is evident from the following words, "God shall enlarge Japhet, and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem (*d*). Now though the Canaanites suffered for their own sins (*e*), yet it was a present punishment inflicted upon Ham, to be informed by the spirit of prophecy, that one branch of his posterity would prove so exceeding vile, as to fall remarkably under the curse of God, and be made a slave to the posterity of his brethren. Which leads us to inquire,

3dly, What is meant by his being a "servant of servants?" "Curfed be Cainan; a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren."

This

(*a*) ver. 24. (*b*) Gen. x. 21. (*c*) Gen. ix. 25.
 (*d*) ver. 27. (*e*) Lev. xviii. 24, 25. and Gen. xv. 16.

This may easily be determined from the use of the like phrase on other occasions. *Sanctum sanctorum* signified the most holy place in the jewish tabernacle and temple; and *canticum canticorum*, the most excellent song. In like manner *servus servorum*, a servant of servants, is the basest and vilest of servants, that is, a slave: and very remarkably was the prediction fulfilled eight hundred years after, when the Israelites, who were descended from Shem, took possession of the land of Canaan, subduing thirty kings, killing a vast number of the inhabitants, laying heavy tributes on the remainder, or driving them out of their country, and using the Gibeonites, who saved themselves by a wile, though not properly as slaves, yet as meer drudges for the service of the tabernacle; and when, afterwards, the scattered relicks of the Canaanites, at Tyre, at Thebes and at Carthage, were all conquered and cut off by the Greeks and Romans, who were descended from Japhet*.

The second instance which Godwin produces, of the despotic power of the patriarchs, is Abraham's turning Hagar and Ishmael out of his family (a).

When Abraham left his father's house, and came into the land of Canaan, being there sui juris, and subject to none, he doubtless exercised a patriarchal jurisdiction in his own family; in which he was succeeded by Isaac and Jacob. But as for his turning his concubine and

* See Philippi Olearii disputat. historico-moral. de Cham. maledict. Lips. 1707. & apud Thesau. nov. theologico-philolog. tom. 1. p. 168. Lugd. Bat. & Amstel. 1732.
(a) Gen. xxi. 9, &c.

and her son out of doors, when he had a child by his lawful wife, it is too common a case to be an evidence of any singular authority, vested in the patriarchs, and peculiar to those ages.

The third instance is that of Jacob's denouncing a curse upon Simeon and Levi, "Curfed be their anger, for it was fierce; and their wrath, for it was cruel: I will divide them in Jacob, and scatter them in Israel (*a*)."

But this might have been more properly alleged as an instance of prophetic inspiration, than of patriarchal authority; it being among the predictions, which, under a divine afflatus, Jacob delivered concerning the posterity of his twelve sons. And very remarkably was this prediction fulfilled. The tribe of Simeon upon the division of the land of Canaan, had not a separate inheritance assigned them by themselves, but only a portion in the midst of the tribe of Judah (*b*). And when they were afterwards increased, they acquired possessions where they could, far from the rest of their brethren (*c*). And if the jewish tradition be credible, that many of them, wanting a livelihood, engaged in teaching children, and were employed as schoolmasters in all the other tribes of Israel, it was a further accomplishment of Jacob's prophecy. As for the tribe of Levi, it was remarkably scattered among the other tribes; having no tract of land assigned it, in the manner they had, but only certain cities, (with a little land about them,) out of all the other tribes (*d*). Howbeit, as this tribe manifested an extraordinary

(*a*) Gen. xlix. 7. (*b*) Josh. xix. 1, 9. (*c*) 1 Chron. iv. 39, 42. (*d*) See Josh. xxi. passim.

nary zeal against idolatry in the affair of the golden calf (*a*), the curse was taken off, or rather, turned into a blessing (*b*); for it was consecrated of God to “teach Jacob his judgments, and Israel his laws (*c*); and the Levites had the tenth of all the increase of the land assigned them, throughout all the country.

The fourth instance of patriarchal authority, which is alledged, is of Judah; who, when he was informed, that Tamar, his daughter-in-law, had played the harlot, and was with child by whoredom, said, “Bring her forth and let her be burnt (*d*).” From whence it is inferred, that Judah, as a patriarch, was invested with supream authority in his own house, and even with power of life and death. But to this it is objected,

1st. It is not probable, that Judah should be invested with such authority, while his father Jacob was still living: much less,

2dly, That he should have such a despotic power over Tamar, who was not one of his family; for after the death of Onan, she had returned to dwell in her own father’s house (*e*): nor

3dly, If he had possessed such a power, is it likely he would have been guilty of so much injustice and cruelty, as to put her to death, when she was with child. Perhaps therefore Judah might speak only as a prosecutor: “Bring her forth, to her trial, in order that she may be burnt after her delivery.” For though the law of Moses, which enacted that adultery

VOL. I. C should

(*a*) Exod. xxxii. 26,—28. (*b*) ver. 29. (*c*) Deut. xxxiii. 9, 10. (*d*) Gen. xxxviii. 24. (*e*) ver. 11.

18 Special government of Israelites. B. I.

should be punished with death (*a*), was not yet given, burning seems, however, to have been the punishment of that crime, which custom had established. We find it practised by the Philistines, who were not under the law of Moses. When Samson's wife had married another man, "they burnt her with fire (*b*)."
It is further to be considered, that though Tamar had lived a widow, since the death of Onan; yet she was legally espoused to his younger brother Selah, and only waited till he was of proper age, for the consummation of the marriage; and therefore she was considered as a wife, and consequently as an adulteress.

Of the special form of the hebrew government.

Having thus examined the hints of the patriarchal form of government, which are to be found in the only authentic history of those early ages; we proceed

II. To consider the special government of the people of Israel, from the beginning of their national polity to its final dissolution. Here I shall distinguish this large tract of time into four periods:

1st. From their entrance into Egypt to their entrance into Canaan.

2dly, From their entrance into Canaan to the captivity.

3dly, During the captivity, and

4thly, From the captivity to the destruction of Jerusalem.

I. The

(*a*) Lev. xx. 10. (*b*) Judg. xv. 6.

C. I. Government in the wilderness. 19

I. The first period is, from their entrance into Egypt to their entrance into Canaan; which may conveniently be subdivided into two lesser periods.

The former takes up the time of their sojourning in the land of Egypt; the latter, the time of their migration through the wilderness, from Egypt to Canaan.

First, as to the state and form of their government, while they sojourned in Egypt.

No doubt, while Jacob and Joseph lived, they were their own masters, and were governed by their own laws. And though afterwards, "when another king arose, that knew not Joseph," they were enslaved by the Egyptians; yet we may perhaps discern the shadow, at least, of some form of civil government, still subsisting among them.

God commanded Moses to “gather the זקנים zikenim, elders of Israel together, in order to deliver to them the message, with which he was sent to their nation (a).” And “Moses and Aaron went, and gathered together all the elders of the children of Israel (b).”

By elders some understand the judges in their civil courts; because we find this title, afterwards, applied to such judges (*c*). But it is an objection of no small weight against this opinion, that when Moses had brought the Israelites out of Egypt, there were no such judges among them; but Moses judged all himself, to his exceeding great trouble (*d*). By the elders, therefore, spoken of before during their

C 2 abode

(a) Exod. iii. 16. (b) chap. iv. 29. (c) Deut.
xvi. 2. xix. 12. and in several other places. (d) Exod.
xviii. 13, &c.

abode in Egypt, may only be meant the wisest and gravest men, in the highest esteem among them, or at most, according to Mr. Selden, the heads of their tribes*.

As for the שוטרים shoterim, officers of the children of Israel (a), which they had amongst them at this time, they seem to have been appointed, and set over them, by the Egyptians, meerly for the purpose of overseeing the work they were employed in.

So that, upon the whole, we have only very dark and uncertain hints of any special form of government among the Hebrews, during their abode in Egypt. But

Secondly, The form of their government is far more conspicuous in, and during, their migration, through the wilderness, from Egypt to Canaan.

Presently after they had left Egypt, the Theocracy was set up among them, that is, God condescended to be their king, as well as their God. The word θεοκρατία, formed by Josephus from θεός Deus, and κρατέω impero, very happily expresseth that peculiar government, which God exercised over the people of Israel. To them he stood in a threefold relation,

First, As their Creator, in common with the rest of mankind; and therefore, as the Lord of their consciences, he required from them all the duties of the moral law.

Secondly, He was their God, as they were a visible church, separated from all the nations of the earth to be his peculiar people. In this character he prescribed the peculiar forms and distinguish-

* Uxor Hebr. lib. i. cap. 15.

(a) Exod. v. 14.

distinguishing rites and ceremonies of their religious worship.

Thirdly, He was their proper king, the sovereign of their body politic; in which character he gave them judicial or political laws, relating to government and civil life; he ordered a royal palace to be built for his residence among them; I mean the tabernacle, in which he dwelt, or manifested his special presence, by the Shechinah, as the Jews call it; that is, by a bright cloud or glory, appearing over the mercy seat, betwixt the two cherubim in the innermost room of that palace (*a*); on which account he is said to “dwell betwixt the cherubim (*b*);” and to “sit betwixt the cherubim (*c*).” From thence he gave forth oracles, or signified his will concerning matters of importance to the state, which were not determined by the body of written laws (*d*).

It should seem, the common way of giving these oracles was by an audible voice. In this manner, we are expressly informed, the oracle was given to Moses, when he went into the tabernacle to consult it (*e*). And it may be inferred from the phrase by which the oracle is usually expressed; “Jehovah spoke saying,” or “Jehovah said,”

However that was, (which will be considered more fully in its proper place) it sufficiently appears, that by the oracle, or by Jehovah himself, all laws were enacted, war was proclaimed, and magistrates were appointed; in which three things the *summa potestas*, or sovereign authority, of any state, consisteth*.

C 3

1st.

(*a*) Lev. xvi. 2. (*b*) Psal. lxxx. 1, (*c*) Psal. xcix. 1. (*d*) Lev. i. 1. (*e*) Numb. vii. 89.
Vid. Conring. de Rep. Heb. §. 7, & seq.

1st. Laws were enacted, and promulged immediately by the oracle, or voice of Jehovah.

Thus, when the laws of the two tables were given at mount Sinai, the voice of Jehovah was heard by all the people (*a*). But the majesty in which God manifested himself on that occasion, was so very awful, that it struck them with amazement, and a kind of horror; therefore the rest of the laws were, at their request, communicated more privately to Moses, and by him to the people. Yet they were all given, immediately, by the oracle, or voice of Jehovah. "The Lord spake unto Moses, saying," is the usual preface to every body, or parcel, of laws.

Now these laws are an evidence, that Jehovah acted as their king, as well as their God; since they contain a number of forensic, as well as moral and ceremonial precepts; relating to their civil polity and government, to their magistrates and judges, their estates and inheritances, their trade and commerce; and even to the form of their houses, their food, and their apparel. God enacted all their laws, and no power was vested in any one else, either to make new, or repeal old ones.

2dly, God, as king, reserved to himself the sovereign right of proclaiming war, and making peace, with their neighbouring nations.

He proclaimed war with the Amalekites (*b*), and with the Midianites (*c*); and therefore a certain history of the wars of the Israelites, now lost, is called "the book of the wars of the Lord (*d*)."
Jehovah commanded, and even headed, their

(*a*) Deut. v. 22, 23. (*b*) Exod. xvii. 16. (*c*) Numb. xxxi. 1, 2. (*d*) Numb. xxi. 14.

their armies, in their marches, and in their battles. Thus the tabernacle, or royal tent, led their marches through the wilderness; from thence, by the rising and falling of a miraculous cloud over it, was the signal given, when they should proceed, and when they should rest (*a*). By this extraordinary appearance or token of the divine presence, was the course, as well as the time, of their marches directed; for "the Lord went before them by day in a pillar of a cloud, to lead them the way; and by night in a pillar of fire, to give them light to go by day and night (*b*)."
To these miraculous signals those words of Moses refer, "When the ark set forward, Moses said, Rise up, Lord, and let thine enemies be scattered; and let them that hate thee, flee before thee. And when it rested, he said, Return, O Lord, unto the many thousands of Israel (*c*)."

We may remark by the way, with Taubman in his notes on Virgil, that it proceeded, probably, from a tradition of this usual appearance of the God of Israel, that the heathen poets frequently represent their deities as appearing in a cloud, with a peculiar brightness in it.

Now, God himself undertaking to lead their marches, it was great presumption in them ever to march without his signal or order; and when therefore they would thus have marched into Canaan, Moses sharply expostulates with them, "Wherefore now do you transgress the commandment of the Lord? But it shall not prosper. Go not up, for the Lord is not among you, that ye be not smitten before your ene-

C 4

mies

(*a*) Numb. ix. 17, 18.(*b*) Exod. xiii. 21.(*c*) Numb. x. 35, 36.

mies (a):” Which words suggest a sufficient reason of their being sometimes defeated, though Jehovah himself was their king and general.

The whole direction of the siege of Jericho, and the manner of taking it (b), are a further illustrious instance of Jehovah’s immediate conduct of their military affairs.

3dly, God, in his royal capacity, appointed all officers in the state. Thus he made Moses his viceroy or prime minister; and Joshua not only the successor of Moses after his death, but an associate with him, or his deputy and lieutenant, during his life. For so Dr. Patrick understands that order, which God gave to Moses concerning Joshua, “Thou shalt put some of thine honour upon him, that all the congregation of the children of Israel may be obedient (c).” Onkelos, indeed, and the hebrew doctors understand by the word הוֹדָה *hod*, which we render “honour” in that place, (but which more commonly signifies glory,) the splendor which shone in the face of Moses, after he came down from the mount; part of which, they supposed, was now imparted to Joshua, in order to make him appear more venerable in the eyes of the people. Upon which, they say, Moses’s face shone like the sun, Joshua’s like the moon. But they should have observed, that Moses is ordered to put some of his glory or honour upon Joshua; which cannot be understood, with any propriety, of that miraculous lustre which Moses had no power to impart; but may, very naturally, be interpreted of the honour resulting from his authority, and post in the government, in

(a) Numb. xiv. 41, 42.
xxvii. 20.

(b) Josh. vi.

(c) Numb.

in which Joshua was now to be joined with him.

We further observe, to this purpose, that when Jethro suggested to Moses, that, for his ease in the government, he should appoint a number of inferior officers under him, he (being doubtless informed by Moses of the extraordinary constitution of the hebrew state) did not propose he should do it without a special order from Jehovah, but that he should consult the oracle: "If thou shalt do this thing, and God command thee so, then thou shalt be able to endure, &c. (a)" And thus likewise, when any doubt arose about the meaning of any law, which God had already given; or when any case occurred, which the law had not expressly provided for; Jehovah himself must be consulted about it. As in the case of those, who were defiled by a dead body; and therefore could not keep the passover on the day appointed (b); in the case of the sabbath breaker (c); and of Zelophehad's daughter, about the right of inheritance (d). From which instances it plainly appears, that God stood in the peculiar relation to the Israelites, of their king, as well as their God. When, therefore, they afterwards desired a king "to judge them like the other nations;" God says, they had "rejected him that he should not reign over them (e)." And Samuel upbraids them with this their rebellion: "Ye said a king shall reign over us; when the Lord your God was your king (f);" that is, in the same sense in which the kings of other nations are their kings; otherwise, the desiring

(a) Exod. xviii. 23. (b) Numb. ix. 6.—10. (c) Numb. xv. 34, 35. (d) Numb. xxvii. 5.—7. (e) 1 Sam. viii. 7. (f) 1 Sam. xii. 12.

firing an earthly king would not have been inconsistent with the sovereignty of Jehovah, and their allegiance to him.

Since, then, Jehovah himself was the king, as well as the God, of Israel; it follows, that the priests and levites, who were the more immediate and stated attendants on his presence, in the royal tent or palace, as the tabernacle or temple may be stiled; and to whom the execution of the law was, in many cases, committed; were properly ministers of state and of civil government, as well as of religion. Thus, to them it belonged, to declare, who were clean, and who were unclean; who should be shut out of the congregation, and who should be admitted into it. The people were to enquire of the law from their mouth, and that in respect to civil as well as to religious matters; and they were appointed to teach Jacob God's judgments, and Israel his laws; "even all the statutes, which the Lord hath spoken unto them, by the hand of Moses (a);" that is, the forensic laws, as well as the moral and ceremonial precepts.

Hence we are naturally led to conceive of a double use of the sacrifices, which were offered by the priests in behalf, and at the charge, of the people; of which they had a share, as the perquisites of their office: I mean, that besides their typical and religious use, they were also intended for the support of the state, and civil government; inasmuch as these ministers of state were chiefly maintained by them. So that the allotments to the priests, out of the sacrifices, may be considered as designed, like the
civil

(a) Lev. x. 11;

civil-list-money in other nations, for the immediate support of the crown, and the officers of state.

On these principles we are enabled to account for Paul's sacrificing, as we are informed he did, after the commencement of the christian dispensation (*a*): an action, which has been severely censured by some, as the greatest error of his life. Hereby he not only gave, say they, too much countenance to the jews, in their superstitious adherence to the law of Moses, after it was abrogated by Christ; but his offering these typical sacrifices, after the antitype of them was accomplished in the sacrifice of Christ, was a virtual denial of Christ, and of the virtue of his sacrifice, which superseded all others. Paul's long trouble, which began immediately after this affair, some have looked upon as a judgment of God upon him for this great offence. But if this action was really so criminal as some suppose, one cannot enough wonder, that so good, and so wise a man as Paul was, should be guilty of it; and that the apostle James, and the other christian elders, should all advise him to it (*b*). It is likewise strange, that we find no censure ever passed on this action by any of the sacred writers; not even by Paul himself, who appears so ready, on other occasions, to acknowledge, and humble himself for his errors and failings. On the contrary, he reflects with comfort on his having complied with the customs of the Jews, in order to remove their prejudice against him and his ministry, and against the gospel which he preached, and

to

(*a*) Acts xxi. 26.

(*b*) ver. 18, 23, 24.

to win them over to embrace it : " Unto the Jews I became as a Jew, that I might gain the Jews ; and this I do for the gospel's sake (*a*).

To elucidate this point, we are to consider, that there was a political, as well as typical, use of sacrifices ; and that though the typical ceased upon the sacrifice of Christ, yet the political continued, till God in his providence broke up the jewish state and polity, about forty years after our Saviour's death. Till that time, it was not merely lawful, but matter of duty, for good subjects to pay the dues which were appointed by law for the support of the government and magistracy. Now of this kind was the sacrifice which Paul offered ; and in this view, they were paid by Christians, dwelling in Judea, as well as by those who still adhered to the jewish religion. So that, upon the whole, this action, for which Paul has been so much censured, probably amounts to nothing more than paying the tribute due to the magistrate by law ; which the apostle enjoins upon all other Christians in all other nations (*b*).

From this account of the Theocracy, and of the peculiar relations in which God stood to the hebrew nation, we may also perceive, in what sense, and how far, the levitical sacrifices could make atonement for sin. This they are often said to do ; and yet it is asserted in the epistle to the Hebrews (*c*), " that it is not possible, that the blood of bulls, and of goats should take away sins ;" that is, sins against God as our Creator and the Lord of conscience. But, besides

(*a*) 1 Cor. ix. 20, 23. (*b*) Rom. xiii. 6. (*c*) chap. x. 4.

sides the typical reference, which the Jewish sacrifices had to the great atonement by the sacrifice of Christ, they may be supposed to make a proper and equitable atonement for transgressions of the peculiar law of the Theocracy, or for sins committed against God, merely as king of the Jews. It is enacted in the law of Moses (*a*), that if a person "had committed a trespass, and sinned through ignorance, in the holy things of the Lord;" (that is, by applying to his own private use, what should have been paid to God as king, or to the priests his ministers,) he should make amends to the full value in money; adding to it a fifth part more, and a ram for a trespass offering; with which the priest should make atonement for him, and it should be forgiven him. Now in the case of a sin of ignorance, this might well be deemed an equitable and full compensation, and so a proper atonement for the sin, or trespass. But if this, or any other trespass, was committed presumptuously, that is, wilfully and audaciously, in contempt of the divine majesty, and his authority; that circumstance rendered it a sin against God, as the Lord of conscience; for which therefore no brutal sacrifices could atone; but it is said, "That soul shall be cut off from among his people (*b*)."

We have only further to observe, upon this form of government, which was peculiar to the Hebrews, that as God himself was their king, so Moses was his viceroy, in whom the supreme ecclesiastical as well as civil power, under God, was lodged. By him Aaron, and his

(*a*) Lev. v. 15, 16.

(*b*) Numb. xv. 30:

his sons, were put into the priesthood ; the royal palace, or tabernacle, was built by his direction ; by him it was consecrated ; he gave the nation the whole body of their laws ; he was commander in chief of all their forces. All this did Moses by commission from God, or rather God did it by Moses. So that, though the servant of God, yet, as chief among men, he is called king in Jeshurun (*a*). For though government by kings, properly so called, was not set up till the days of Saul ; yet the title was more ancient, and given to persons of high rank and great authority, though they were never crowned, never attended with royal pomp, nor invested with the regalia : in particular it was applied to the judges. When Abimelech was made judge in Shechem, it is said, they made him king (*b*) ; and when there was no judge in Israel, it is said, “ there was no king (*c*).” Thus, in after ages, the roman dictators likewise, to whom Godwin compares the hebrew judges, are sometimes called kings, both by the latin and greek historians. It is not, therefore, difficult to account for Moses’s being called king, though he was only God’s lieutenant or viceroy.

But it is not so easy to account for Israel’s being called Jeshurun. Some derive the word from ישר *jashar*, rectus, just or righteous ; and so make it to signify a righteous people. Montanus renders it *rectitudo*, and so does the Samaritan version. But it seems a considerable objection against this sense, that Israel is called Jeshurun, at the very time that they are upbraided

(*a*) Deut. xxxiii. 5.
xvii. 6.

(*b*) Judg. ix. 6.

(*c*) Judg.

braided with their sins and their rebellion, “Jeshurun waxed fat, and kicked, &c. (a) It is replied, Jeshurun is the diminutive of שר jashar (for “nomen auctum in fine est nomen diminutivum,”) and so imports, that though, in general and on the whole, they were a righteous people, yet they were not without great faults.

Perhaps Cocceius has given as probable an interpretation as any. He derives the word from שור shur, which signifies to see, behold or discover; from whence, in the future tense plural, comes שרו jeshuru, which, with the addition of Nun paragogicum, makes Jeshurun; that is, the people who had the vision of God *. This makes the name Jeshurun to be properly applied to Israel, not only when Moses is called their king, but when they are upbraided with their rebellion against God; since the peculiar manifestation, which God had made of himself to them, was a great aggravation of their ingratitude and rebellion. We now proceed to the

Second period of the hebrew history; which commences with their entrance into Canaan under the command of Joshua, and expires at the long captivity.

Joshua, the successor of Moses, and captain general of Israel, was of the tribe of Ephraim. His original name was חושע Hosheang (b). It was changed by Moses, no doubt, by God's command, into יהושע Jehoshuang (c). Now since both these names signify the same, namely, a saviour; from ישע jashang, salvavit, he hath

(a) Deut. xxxii. 15:

* Ultima Moses, §. 973.

(b) Numb. xiii. 8.

(c) ver. 16.

hath saved; it is enquired, for what reason his name was thus changed? To account for this, two conjectures are offered;

First, that it was in order to put an honour upon him, by adding one of the letters of the name of Jehovah to his name; as God changed Abram's name into אברהם Abraham; adding ה to it, from his own name, say the Jews (*a*). Thus יהושע Jehoshuang, may signify salvator Dei; and he was made even in his name a more eminent type of Christ, who bore the same name with him, Jesus or Joshua; and who is called (*b*) σωτηριου τε θεου, "the salvation of God *." But if this reason for the change of Joshua's name be thought too cabbalistical,

The second may, perhaps, be more satisfactory; viz. that the name הושע Hosheang comes from the imperative of hiphil, and signifies, save; and perhaps his parents, by giving it, meant to express their wish, that he might prove a favour to Israel. But יהושע Jehoshuang comes from the future tense, and signifies salvabit, will save. So that Moses, by making this change, predicted and promised what his parents had wished.

Joshua had been Moses's minister (*c*), and had attended upon him in his highest employments. When he was called up by Jehovah into the mount, to receive the two tables of the law; it is said, that "Moses rose up, and his minister Joshua (*d*)."
And he is said "to stand before Moses (*e*)," not surely as a menial servant, but as his first minister; for Joshua was one of the heads of the children of Israel, and
a ruler

(*a*) Gen. xvii. 5. (*b*) Luke iii. 6. * Vid. Alting.
de Cabalist. (*c*) Josh. i. 1. (*d*) Exod. xxiv. 13.
(*e*) Deut. i. 38.

a ruler in his tribe; as were all the twelve spies, whom Moses sent to search out the land of Canaan, of which number Joshua was (*a*). He only and Caleb brought a good and true report of that land, encouraging the people to invade it, and assuring them of success (*b*); while the other ten gave such a discouraging account of the gigantic stature and valour of the inhabitants, of the number and strength of their fortified towns, and perhaps also of the unhealthiness of their country, (which seems to be their meaning in saying, that “the land eateth up the inhabitants thereof” (*c*),”) that the people were disheartened, and inclined to make themselves a captain, and return into Egypt (*d*). God was, hereupon, so much displeased, because they shewed such ingratitude and infidelity, notwithstanding the many wonders he had wrought for them in Egypt, and in the desert, and notwithstanding the repeated assurances he had given them of the conquest of Canaan, that he sentenced all of them who were twenty years of age and upwards, except Caleb and Joshua, to wander in the wilderness for forty years, till they were consumed; that none of them might enter into the promised land. And as for those, to whose false reports this rebellion was owing, they were all destroyed by a sudden death (*e*). But as for Joshua, he not only lived till the Israelites entered into the land of Canaan, but had the honour, as their captain general, to conduct them. He had before been appointed Moses’s successor by the oracle, or by

VOL. I.

D

Jehovah

(*a*) Numb. xiii. 2, 3, 8.(*b*) Numb. xiv. 6,—9.(*c*) Numb. xiii. 32.(*d*) Numb. xiv. 2,—4.(*e*) ver.

Jehovah himself; and had been solemnly ordained to that office, while Moses was living (*a*). And after his death the people acknowledged him for his successor, promising to pay him the same obedience, which they had paid to Moses (*b*). However, though he succeeded Moses, as God's viceroy or lieutenant, and had the same authority, military and civil, which his predecessor had; yet, in some respects, he was much inferior to him; and therefore he could not be "that prophet, like unto Moses, whom God had promised to raise up unto his brethren (*c*)," as the modern Jews affirm, and some Christians have too easily granted, he was. For, besides that he had not the honour of being a lawgiver, as Moses had, (by whom the whole body of laws, which God intended for his people, was delivered,) I say, besides this, he was never admitted to that immediate and familiar manner of conversing with God, with which Moses was favoured; for "with him the Lord spake face to face, as a man speaks to his friend (*d*);" whereas when Joshua wanted to consult the oracle, he was to stand before the "priest, who should ask counsel for him after the judgment of Urim (*e*)."
 In both these respects, neither Joshua, nor any other prophet, was "like unto Moses;" except He to whom that prophecy is applied by the apostle Peter (*f*), and in whom alone it was accomplished; even our Lord Jesus Christ.

Our author says, that after Joshua succeeded Judges. But it may be questioned, whether the judges were properly successors to Joshua,
 in

(*a*) Numb. xxvii. 15,—23. (*b*) Josh. i. 16, 17.
 (*c*) Deut. xviii. 15. (*d*) Exod. xxxiii. 11. (*e*) Numb.
 xxvii. 21. (*f*) Acts iii. 20,—22.

in the same office, as he had been to Moses. For, as the law had been given by Moses, and as the land of Canaan had been conquered, and the tribes of Israel settled in the peaceable possession of their inheritances, by Joshua; there seems to have been no further occasion for “a man to be set over the congregation, who might go out before them, and who might go in before them, and who might lead them out, and who might bring them in;” which was the office of Joshua (*a*). As therefore the legislative office, which Moses had possessed, expired at his death; so did the office of Joshua, as *præfectus ordinarius*, and captain general for life, at his. Hereupon the hebrew government became aristocratical; excepting that, in respect to the peculiar supremacy of Jehovah; it was monarchical*.

In the hebrew commonwealth every city had its elders, who formed a court of judicature, with a power of determining lesser matters in their respective districts. The rabbies say, there were three such elders, or judges, in each lesser city, and twenty-three in greater. But Josephus speaks of seven judges in each, without

D 2

any

(*a*) Numb. xxvii. 16, 17.

* Aristocracy (so called from *αριστος*, *optimus*, & *κρατειν*, *impero*,) imports that the supream government is lodged in the optimates, or nobles. Such is the present form of government in Venice, and in Holland. Democracy, (from *δemos*, *populus* & *κρατειν*, *impero*) means that the supream authority is in the people, who exercise it by persons of their own order. Such is the government of Basil, and of some of the free cities of Germany. Monarchy, (from *μονος*, *solus*, & *αρχη*, *imperium*,) is when the supream authority is lodged in a single person, as in France and Spain. The English constitution is plainly a mixture of all three, inasmuch as the supream authority is lodged jointly in the king, the lords and the commons.

36 Form of the hebrew government. B.I.
 any such distinction of greater or less *. We often read, in scripture, of the elders of the cities ; but the number of them is not determined ; probably that was left discretional. For instance, we read of the elders of Gilead, who went to fetch Jephthah, and make him their captain (*a*) ; of the elders of Succoth (*b*) ; and of the elders of Bethlehem, where Boaz lived (*c*). In short, that there were elders in every city, appears from the law, directing and regulating the conduct of the elders of any city, on occasion of a person's being found dead in, or near it (*d*). Sigonius † supposes, these elders and judges of cities were the original constitution settled in the wilderness by Moses, upon the advice which Jethro gave him (*e*) ; and continued by divine appointment, after the settlement in the land of Canaan. Whereas others imagine the jethronian prefectures were a peculiar constitution, suited to their condition while encamped in the wilderness ; but laid aside after they came into Canaan. However that be, it is certain there was a court of judges and officers, appointed in every city by the law of Moses (*f*). How far, and in what respects, these judges differed from the elders of the city, is not easily determined ; and whether they were different persons, or the same. Perhaps the title, elders, may denote their seniority and dignity ; and that of judges, the office they sustained.

As for the officers, שוטרים shoterim, mentioned along with the judges, ‡ they were, according

* Antiq. lib iv. cap. 8. §. 14. edit. Haveré.

(*a*) Judg. xi. 5, 6. (*b*) Judg. viii. 14. (*c*) Ruth iv. 2, 4, 9. compared with chap. i. 1. (*d*) Deut. xxi. 1, —9.

† De Repub. Heb. lib. vi. cap. 6.

(*e*) Exod. xviii. 21, 22. (*f*) Deut. xvi. 18.

‡ See Patrick on the text last cited.

C. I. Form of the hebrew government. 37

according to the account given of them by Maimonides and the rabbins, much like those, whom the roman law calls, *officiales & executores*, and the New Testament, *πρακτορας* (*a*); who attended the court, to keep the people in order, with a staff and a whip; and to execute the orders and decrees of the judges. Josephus stiles them * bailiffs or officers, under the judges; and we find them, on some occasions, employed as publick cryers (*b*). However the rabbies place them next under their wise men and doctors, and above their scribes or clerks. And indeed they seem to have been persons of some consideration, by Joshua's assembling them along with the elders, heads, and judges; not to hold any court of justice, but to hear his farewell charge and exhortation before his death (*c*).

The lower courts of justice, in their several cities, were held in their gates: "Judges and officers shalt thou make in all thy gates (*d*)." The gate among the Hebrews seems to answer to the forum among the Romans, and to the *αγορα* among the Greeks; which was the name given to any common place of resort, whether for the keeping of markets, or the holding courts of judicature. In the former sense the word, gate, is used, when Elisha foretells at what low rates provisions would be sold, on the morrow, in the gate of Samaria (*e*). According to the latter sense, Israel is exhorted to "execute the judgment of truth and peace in her gates (*f*);" and so in the law we are now

D 3

explain-

(*a*) Luke xii 58. * Ubi supra. See also Matt. v. 25. where *υπηρετης* is used in the same sense, as it is by Josephus. (*b*) Deut. xx. 5, 8, 9. Josh. i. 10, 11.

(*c*) Josh. xxiii. 2. xxiv. 1. (*d*) Deut. xvi. 18.

(*e*) 2 Kings vii. 1. (*f*) Zech. viii. 16.

38 Form of the hebrew government. B. I. explaining, they are commanded to "make judges and officers in their gates." In either sense, that is, as denoting, in general, a place of public concourse, the word is used, when it is said of the virtuous woman, "Give her of the fruit of her hands, and let her own works praise her in the gates (*a*)."

Each tribe had its respective prince. They are called the heads of the thousands of Israel (*b*); and were the same, perhaps, with the twelve captains of the host, mentioned in the second chapter of Numbers; and their office, therefore related chiefly, if not entirely, to military affairs.

We read also of the princes of the congregation, who presided in judiciary matters (*c*). These probably were the same with the jethronian prefectures, of whom we spake before, and who are called elders, and also princes and nobles, on account of the dignity of their office (*d*). They were in number seventy, as appears by the account of their institution, which we have in the book of Numbers (*e*); though I rather apprehend that to be an account of their being confirmed in their office, and perhaps invested with some additional authority, and endowed with some miraculous gift to qualify them for it; for we find there were seventy elders before, at the time of giving the law at mount Sinai (*f*).

Whether this consistory of seventy elders was a perpetual, or only a temporary institution, is a matter of dispute. The Jews, and after them
Grotius,

(*a*) Prov. xxxi. 31. (*b*) Numb. x. 4. (*c*) Numb. xxxii. 2. Josh. ix. 15. xvii. 4. (*d*) Exod. xxiv. 9, 11. (*e*) chap. xi. 16, 17, 24, 25. (*f*) Exod. xxiv. 1, 9, 14.

C. I. Form of the hebrew government. 39

Grotius, Selden, Lightfoot, and several other Christians, have affirmed, it was the same that became afterwards so famous under the name of the Sanhedrim; to which even their kings and high priests were subject. But others conceive the institution of the seventy elders was only temporary, for the assistance of Moses in the government, before the settlement in the land of Canaan; and that the Sanhedrim was first set up in the time of the Maccabees.

On the former side, the rabbies are zealous assertors of the high antiquity of the Sanhedrim; and though they allow, that its session was sometimes interrupted and discontinued for years together, especially in the times of the kings; they leave no stone unturned, to prove that the court, nevertheless, subsisted from the time of Moses.

The first argument they produce is taken from this passage in the book of Numbers (*a*), “The Lord said unto Moses, gather unto me seventy of the elders of Israel.” Which the Talmud interprets, that “they may be a Sanhedrim to my land;” that is, a holy, standing, perpetual council, throughout all generations. For wherever we meet with the word, *h* li, unto me, the rabbies think it signifies a thing established by God to all generations. For instance, when he says of Aaron and his sons, “They shall minister unto me in the priests office (*b*);” and of the Levites, “They shall be mine,” or unto me (*c*); and of the whole nation, “Unto me the children of Israel are servants (*d*);” and when the like is said of the sanctuary, the sacrifices, the altar and many

D 4

other

(*a*) chap. xi. 16. (*b*) Exod. xxviii. 41. (*c*) Numb. iii. 12. (*d*) Lev. xxv. 55.

other things ; in all these cases, they understand the word *li*, to import a perpetual institution.

2dly, It is argued, that if Moses needed the assistance of such a council, much more was it requisite after his death ; and it is by no means probable, that any one would presume to abrogate so prudent an institution of his, in any age after him.

3dly, We read of the elders and judges of Israel, not only after the death of Moses, but after the Israelites were settled in the land of Canaan (*a*). Now by these the rabbies understand the seventy elders, or Sanhedrim ; and to the same purpose they interpret a passage of the Psalmist concerning the “ thrones of judgment, that are set, or do sit, in Jerusalem (*b*).” The like reference to the Sanhedrim they find in the title of the forty-fifth Psalm ; where the Targum interprets *shofhannim*, those that sit in the Sanhedrim of Moses. And thus Dr. Lightfoot understands the expression concerning the scribes and pharisees, who are said to sit in Moses’s seat (*c*) ; that is, in the Sanhedrim, which was instituted by Moses.

4thly, In order to prove, not only that the Sanhedrim subsisted in the days of Zedekiah ; but likewise that its power and authority were superior to the king’s ; they alledge the following passage of the prophet Jeremy, “ Therefore the princes said unto the king, we beseech thee, let this man be put to death ; for, &c. Then Zedekiah the king said, behold he is in your hand ; for the king is not he that can do any thing against you (*d*).” By the princes here spoke

(*a*) Josh. xxiv. 1.

Judg. ii. 7.

(*b*) Psal. cxxii. 5.

(*c*) Matt. xxiii. 2.

(*d*) Jer. xxxviii. 4, 5.

spoke of, they understand the elders, or members of the Sanhedrim.

These are the chief arguments, which are produced to prove, that the Sanhedrim, so famous in the later ages of the jewish polity, was instituted by Moses, and always subsisted after his time.

On the other side, several arguments are brought to show, that the court of the Sanhedrim was of no higher antiquity than the time of the Maccabees, and was then first set up. The first is,

1st, That we do not find, in scripture, one word of any such high court, either in the times of the judges, or of the kings; and it is as preposterous to suppose a jewish historian should not mention the Sanhedrim, if such a court there were in those times; as that a latin historian should write a history of the roman affairs, without ever mentioning the senate.

2dly, We find, in perusing their history, that the people generally followed the king, whether in the practice of idolatry, or in the worship of Jehovah; which it is hard to account for, if such a court had then subsisted, with an authority superior to that of the king.

3dly, It plainly appears, that both the judges and the kings exercised a despotic power, and did all things according to their own will, without consulting the Sanhedrim; as doubtless they would, and must, have done, if such a court of superior authority had then existed: "And he said, This will be the manner of the king, that shall reign over you, he will take your sons, and appoint them for himself, &c. (a)."

4thly,

(a) 1 Sam. viii. 11. See also 2 Sam. x. 2. and 1 Kings iii. 16,—ult.

4thly, It is said in the book of Judges, that “in those days there was no king in Israel; therefore every man did that which was right in his own eyes (*a*).” But if there had been such a national court, as is pretended, of superior authority to a king, or a judge, there being “no king” could not have been assigned as the reason of the people’s living without any government.

5thly, The story of the Levite, who was so vilely abused at Gibeah, sending an account of his wrongs to the twelve tribes (*b*), evidently shows, there was then no such national court, as the Sanhedrim; for if there had been so, to that he would naturally have applied.

Upon the whole then, it appears most probable, that the institution of the seventy elders was only temporary, to assist Moses during the abode of the Israelites in the wilderness; and perhaps also to assist Joshua, till they were settled in Canaan; but that afterward they assembled no more, and that the Sanhedrim, so famous in later ages, was set up in the time of the Maccabees.

As for the judges, which we read of after the death of Joshua, they seem to be raised up, and appointed, only on particular occasions; but were not *præfetti ordinarii*, like Moses and Joshua; nor were they continued in their office during life, but only as long as there was occasion; for instance, to deliver Israel from the power of some oppressor. Only it is said, that “Samuel judged Israel all the days of his life;” which seems to be mentioned as a particular case

(*a*) Judg. xvii. 6. xxi. 25. (*b*) Judg. xix. 29, 30.

case (*a*). As for the other judges, Godwin compares them to the roman dictators; who were appointed only on extraordinary emergencies; as in case of war abroad, or conspiracies at home; and whose power, while they continued in office, was great, and even absolute. Thus the hebrew judges seem to have been appointed, only, in cases of national trouble and danger. Othniel, the first judge, was raised up to deliver Israel from the oppression of Chusan-rishathaim (*b*); Ehud, the second, to deliver them from the power of Moab, who had oppressed them eighteen years (*c*); and Gideon, on occasion of their oppression by the Midianites (*d*).

The power of the judges, while in their office, was very great; as appears from Gideon's punishing the elders of Succoth (*e*). Though their power does not seem to have been limited to a certain time, as that of the roman dictators, which continued for half a year; yet it is reasonable to suppose, that when they had performed the business, for which they were appointed, they retired to a private life. This Godwin infers from Gideon's refusing to take upon him the perpetual government of Israel, as being inconsistent with the Theocracy (*f*).

That the judges were not properly successors to Joshua in his office, as not being præfecti ordinarii, is argued

1st, From there being no mention of the appointment of a successor to Joshua, as there was to Moses; nor any one actually made judge, till some years after his death; when Othniel
was

(*a*) 1 Sam. vii. 15. (*b*) Judg. iii. 8,—10. (*c*) Judg. iii. 14, 15. (*d*) Judg. vi. 33, 34. (*e*) Judg. viii. 16. (*f*) Judg. viii. 23.

was raised to that office on a particular occasion.

2dly, From its being represented as so criminal a thing for the people to desire a king, and even to amount to a “rejecting God, that he should not reign over them (a).” Now the difference betwixt judges, and kings, was but very little. They seem to have had the same authority and power; only the judges were never crowned, nor attended with such pomp, nor invested with such regalia, as kings were: if therefore the judges had been perpetual dictators, succeeding one another regularly and without intermission, why should the people desire a king? Or where was the great evil of it when they did? Was it the sole purport of their request, that their judges might have the title of kings? They had this before; for when there was no judge, it is said, “there was no king in Israel.” Or was it only, that their judges might be crowned, and have the regalia? This was a matter of very little moment, and hardly worth disputing about. Their desire, then, plainly was, that they might have a judge, or king, in perpetuum, as the stated supreme officer in the government, like other nations; and not merely on extraordinary occasions. Now this was altering the constitution and form of government, which God had established; and on this account their motion was so displeasing to Samuel, and to God himself.

However, on the other hand, in order to prove the judges were perpetual dictators, and in their office quite different from kings, it is objected and argued,

1st,

(a) 1 Sam. viii 5.—7.

1st, That Samuel had made his sons judges (*a*); and it was nothing but the ill government of these new judges, that made the people desire a king (*b*). Therefore the kingly office was different from that of the judges; consequently the judges might have been perpetual dictators, notwithstanding the people now desired a king.

But to this it may be answered, that the title judge was usually applied, not only to the one supream officer under God, such as Othniel, Barak, &c. but also to inferior magistrates (*c*). Now it is not said, that Samuel made one of his sons the judge κατ' ἐξουχην, that is by appointing him to be his successor, or his partner in the government; but that he made them both judges; and they were judges in Beer-sheba, that is, inferior magistrates, whose office it was to dispense and execute the laws of Jehovah.

2dly, It is alledged, that the judge κατ' ἐξουχην is spoken of as a stated officer in the hebrew commonwealth: "Thou shalt come unto the priests, the levites, and unto the judge that shall be in those days (*d*)."
Consequently there must always be a judge.

But those on the other side of the question reply, that ואל השפט veel hassophet, may as well be rendered, "or unto the judge;" meaning, in case there should be any judge at that time. And this sense they apprehend is confirmed by its being said, "The man that will not hearken to the priest, or to the judge; even that man shall die (*e*)."

3dly;

(*a*) 1 Sam. viii. 1. (*b*) ver. 3,—5. (*c*) Josh. viii. 33. xxiii. 2. and elsewhere. (*d*) Deut. xvii. 9.
(*e*) ver. 12.

3dly; The chasm or interregnum betwixt Samson and Samuel, when there was no judge, is mentioned once and again, as an extraordinary thing, and a calamitous circumstance to the nation (*a*). Therefore, ordinarily; there was one supreme judge over all the other officers and ministers of state.

But it is replied, this will not prove, that they had perpetual judges; but only that it was a calamity to be without a judge at a time; when such an officer was so much wanted.

It is made a question, what time that was which is here referred to, when “there was no king, or judge, in Israel.” The order of the history leads us to conceive, it was betwixt Samson and Samuel. But Dr. Patrick is of opinion, that those five last chapters of the book of Judges are a distinct history, in which the author gives an account of several memorable transactions, which fell out in or about the time of the judges; whose story he would not interrupt by intermixing these matters with it; and therefore reserved them to be related by themselves, in the second part, or appendix. Wherein he first gives an account how idolatry crept into the tribe of Ephraim, then how it was propagated among the Danites; after which he relates a most heinous act of adultery, committed in the tribe of Benjamin; which introduces the history, first, of the almost total destruction of that tribe for their countenancing that detestable fact; and then, of its restoration. Now on such extraordinary occasions, they should have appointed a judge, especially when the inferior officers so shamefully neglected their duty.

These

(*a*) Judg. xvii 6. xviii. 1. xix. 1. xxi. 25.

These hebrew judges were in all fifteen, from Othniel the first to Samuel the last. Before whose death the form of government was changed, and Saul was made king.

We may remark, that the carthaginian Suffites, the chief officers and magistrates in that state, whom both the greek and latin historians frequently mention *, seem evidently to have derived their title from the hebrew word שופטים *shopphetim*: which affords one argument, among several others, of the Carthaginians being originally Canaanites, driven out of their country by Joshua; since by this it appears, that their ancient language was Hebrew, the language of the Canaanites †.

Procopius Gazæus observes, that the history of the judges is of excellent use to represent to us the mighty power of true religion to make a nation happy, and the dismal calamities which impiety brings upon it. And therefore, the writer of the epistle to the Hebrews has thought fit to propound several examples of the power of faith out of this book; as of Gideon, Barak, Samson, Jephthah and Samuel; who, being animated by this principle, did great things for their nation, and obtained signal victories over their enemies ‡.

There is no affair related in this book, which has been made so much a matter of controversy, as that of Jephthah's vow; which, therefore, we shall now take into consideration.

Con-

* Livii hist. lib. 28. cap. 37. lib. 30. cap. 7.

† Vid. Bochart. geograp. sacr. part. 2. lib. 1. cap. 24. apud opera, tom. 1. p. 473. edit. Lugd. Bat. 1712.

‡ Patrick on Judges, at the beginning.

Concerning Jephthah's vow.

It has been earnestly disputed, both among Jews and Christians, whether Jephthah did sacrifice his daughter. And very considerable men have appeared on each side of this question. Not but if Jephthah had been a Heathen, I suppose, we should have had no more difficulty, in understanding the account given of this matter in the book of Judges (*a*), of his sacrificing his daughter; than we have, in understanding Homer's account of Agamemnon's sacrificing his daughter Iphigenia, or Idomeneus his son, of a real sacrifice. I do not know, that it is so much as pretended, that the hebrew text will not admit of such a sense, or even that it is not the most natural one, which the words will bear. But that a judge of the hebrew nation, who were worshippers of the true God, and whose law did not admit of human sacrifices, should be guilty of this grossest act of heathen superstition, is what several of the jewish rabbies can by no means admit; and many learned Christians, not knowing how to reconcile such a barbarous, as well as superstitious, murder with the good character which is given of Jephthah in the epistle to the Hebrews (*b*), (where his name stands in the catalogue of those ancient worthies who were illustrious instances of the power of faith;) have endeavoured to soften the account of this inhuman sacrifice; and to introduce a milder sense. For this purpose the art of criticism hath been diligently applied to the hebrew text, in order to make it signify no more, than that Jephthah devoted his daughter

to

(*a*) chap. xi.(*b*) chap. xi. 32.

to perpetual virginity, for the honour, and in the service, of God. Among the Jews, rabbi Joseph and rabbi David Kimchi, and rabbi Levi Ben Gerson *, have espoused this side of the question; as among the christian writers, have Estius, Vatablus, Junius, Grotius, Drusius, Heinsius, Glassius and Le Clerc.

In favour of the milder sense, that Jephthah devoted his daughter to perpetual virginity, it is alledged;

1st, That she desired time, before the vow was performed upon her, to bewail her virginity, not the loss of her life (*a*). From whence it is concluded, that it was not death, but perpetual virginity that she was devoted to suffer; and the reason, they say, why Jephthah was so troubled when his daughter met him (*b*), was, because she being his only child (*c*), and he now obliged by his vow to devote her to perpetual virginity, his family would soon be extinct in Israel.

But to this it is replied, that to die childless was accounted by the Jews a very sad calamity. Hence it was denounced as a heavy curse on Coniah, the son of Jehoiakim, king of Judah: "Thus saith the Lord, write this man childless (*d*).” And therefore Jephthah's daughter bewailed her virginity, or her dying childless, more than the loss of her life.

2dly, It is alledged in favour of the notion of her being devoted to perpetual virginity, that the words **לִתְנוּת לְבַת־יִפְתָּה** lethannoth lebach Jephthah (*e*), which we render, "to lament the daughter of Jephthah;" should be rendered,

VOL. I.

E

as

* Selden. de jure nat. & gent. lib. iv. cap. xi.

(a) Judg. xi. 37.

(b) ver. 35.

(c) ver. 34.

(d) Jer. xxii. 30.

(e) Judg. xi. 40.

as in the margin, "to talk with the daughter of Jephthah;" that is, to visit and comfort her in her recluse life. To support this sense of the word לתנות lethannoth, they alledge the following expression in this book of Judges, "There shall they rehearse the righteous acts of the Lord (a)." Where they observe, the verb תנה thana, is rightly rendered, and can only mean, to rehearse.

But to this argument it is replied, that, allowing this sense of the verb, it will not at all contradict the notion of her being sacrificed; for then the meaning of this passage will be, that "the daughters of Israel went yearly to rehearse the tragical story of the daughter of Jephthah." Or even if we render the word תנה thana, as in the margin, to talk; yet לתנות lethannoth lebath, would rather signify "to talk concerning," than to "talk with;" as אמר-לי imri-li, is to "say of me," or "concerning me;" not "with me (b);" and יצוה-לך jetzavveh-lak, signifies, "he shall give charge concerning thee," not "with thee (c)." And thus לתנות לבת-יפתה lethannoth lebath Jephthah, signifies to talk concerning the daughter of Jephthah, and not with her. So that this critique is not at all inconsistent with the notion of her being sacrificed, but rather confirms it.

3dly, The chief critical argument in favour of her being devoted to perpetual virginity, is taken from this clause in Jephthah's vow (d), והיה ליהוה vehaja laihova vehangnalithihu g nolath: where, they say, the Vau should be understood not copulatively, but disjunctively; and

(a) Judg. v. 11.

(b) Gen. xx. 13.

(c) Psal. xci. 11.

(d) Judg. xi. 31.

and then the meaning is, "Whatsoever cometh to meet me, shall either be the Lord's, OR I will offer it up for a burnt-offering;" that is, in case it should be a creature fit for sacrifice. Thus Glassius, in his *Philologia sacra*, understands it; and so Drusius, and several others; and they produce some other texts, where the Vau is used disjunctively; as where it is said, "He that curseth his father, or his mother, shall surely be put to death (*a*)."
Again, "Asahel turned not to the right hand, or to the left (*b*); where the Vau cannot signify and. In like manner the conjunctive, *que*, in Latin is sometimes used in a disjunctive sense. Thus Virgil—

Ant Pelago Danaum insidias, suspectaque dona
Præcipitare jubent, subjectisque urere flammis,
Æneid. 2. l. 37.

Again,

Saxum ingens volvunt alii, radiisque rotarum
Districti pendent. —————
Æneid. 6. l. 616.

Now taking the Vau in this sense in the passage before us, the meaning will be, "I will devote it to God, OR it shall be offered for a burnt-offering."

But to this it is replied, that every thing, sacrificed, was offered or devoted to God; but every thing devoted to God, was not sacrificed. Therefore it would be as improper to say, I will either devote it to God, or offer it in sacrifice, as it would be to say, animal aut homo; or, homo aut Petrus; or I will ride ei-

E 2

ther

(*a*) Exod. xxi. 17. compared with Matt. xv. 4.

(*b*) 2 Sam. ii. 19.

ther on a four-footed beast or a horse ; because a horse is a four-footed beast.

Besides, in other parallel texts, where vows are expressed, like this of Jephthah's ; and where the Vau is used in the same manner as it is here ; no body will suppose it should be taken disjunctively. As in Hannah's vow (*a*), " I will give him unto the Lord all the days of his life, and there shall no razor come upon his head ;" no body understands it thus, " I will either give him to the Lord, or no razor shall come upon his head." So in Jacob's vow, " Then shall the Lord be my God ; AND this stone, which I have set up for a pillar, shall be God's house (*b*)."

You see then, that the words of the hebrew text will hardly bear any other sense than is agreeable to the more common opinion, that Jephthah did devote his daughter to death, and actually sacrifice her.

However let us attend to the reasons, which some have offered, why the text should be interpreted in the milder sense, even though it should oblige us to depart from the more natural meaning and construction of the words.

1st, Some of the jewish rabbies seem to think it necessary for the honour of their nation, to vindicate Jephthah's character, at any rate, from the blemish of murder ; which, if committed, must have been a double or triple crime ; as a murder ; as a most unnatural murder of his own daughter and only child ; and also as a heathenish rite of sacrificing, which the Lord God did by no means permit. But, surely, it is hardly worth their while to labour
so

(*a*) 1 Sam. i. 11.

(*b*) Gen. xxviii. 21, 22.

so earnestly, as some of them have done, to vindicate Jephthah's character, for the sake of their national honour; while the lives and actions of so many of their wicked kings are on record in the sacred history; particularly of Ahaz, who "made his son to pass through the fire according to the abominations of the Heathen (a);" of Manasseh, who "caused his children to pass through the fire in the valley of the son of Hinnom (b): which, if it did not mean their burning them to death, in sacrifice to their idols, was at least a rite of lustration (as the Heathens called it), by which parents dedicated their children to the worship and service of their false gods.

2dly, It is pleaded, that Jephthah is not censured in any part of sacred history for what he did on this occasion; which, they suppose, if he had been guilty of so abominable a crime as sacrificing his own daughter, he would have been.

To this it may be replied, that if every action, mentioned in the sacred history without censure, must therefore be concluded to be lawful and good, many actions, which we are sure were contrary to the positive law of God, and others which were immoral in their own nature, must be held lawful. As Samson's marrying a Philistine, contrary to the law, which forbade the Jews to marry out of their own nation; his lewdness with Dalilah; and his revengeful spirit, which he manifested to the last, and carried to such an extreme as to sacrifice his own life, that he might "be avenged on the Phi-

E 3

listines

(a) 2 Kings xvi. 3.

(b) 2 Chron. xxxiii. 6.

listines for his two eyes." Another argument against the more literal sense of this history is,

3dly, It cannot be thought, that God would have given victory and success to Jephthah in his expedition against the Ammonites, upon his making so wicked a vow as this, of offering a human sacrifice.

But it is to be considered, that the private interest of Jephthah was not so much concerned in this expedition, as the publick interest of the whole jewish nation; and why might not God succeed him in his war against the Ammonites, notwithstanding his faults, for the sake of delivering his favourite people whom he had taken under his special protection; as in many other cases he hath given success to wicked instruments, for accomplishing the wise and holy designs of his providence and grace? But

4thly, The chief reason, which has induced many Christians to soften the story of Jephthah's unnatural murder and sacrifice, is his being mentioned in the catalogue of believers, in the epistle to the Hebrews (a). From whence it is concluded, that he was not meerly a good man, but a man of eminent piety; as all, whose names are in that catalogue, are supposed to be. And taking this for granted, they argue, How can it be thought, that a good man, nay an eminently good man, should deliberately commit so horrid a crime, which was doubly contrary to the divine law, as to murder and sacrifice his own daughter?

To this it is replied,

1st, That there are great infirmities and faults of good men recorded in scripture, which perhaps,

haps, considering all circumstances, were as heinous as this action of Jephthah's. As David's debauching the wife of Uriah, and then perfidiously procuring the death of her husband; and Solomon's idolatry, of whom, though it is not expressly said, that he offered any human sacrifices, yet we read that he went "after Milcom, the abomination of the Ammonites (*a*);" which is another name for Molech, as the same idol is called: He "built an high place for Chemosh, the abomination of Moab, and Molech, the abomination of the children of Ammon (*b*)."¹ Now it being well known, that human sacrifices were commonly offered by the Heathens to the idol Molech, it is not an improbable inference from the passages just cited, that Solomon offered them. However that be, if Solomon, the son of David, who lived in times of great light, and had enjoyed the advantage of a religious education far beyond what Jephthah had done; if he practised the idolatrous worship of the Moabites and Ammonites, is it any wonder Jephthah should be led by a blind superstition to sacrifice his daughter? It is certain Jephthah had had, comparatively, but mean advantages for the knowledge of religion and the law of God. In his younger days he dwelt at Gilead, on the other side Jordan; very remote from Shiloh, where the tabernacle was, where the publick ordinances of divine worship were celebrated, and which, therefore, in those times was the fountain of knowledge and religion among the Jews. After his father's death, his brethren drove him out of the family; upon which he

E 4

went

(*a*) 1 Kings xi. 5.(*b*) ver. 7.

went and dwelt in the land of Tob, a country no where else mentioned in scripture; but it was, undoubtedly, out of Canaan, and therefore a heathen country. And now, when he returned into the land of Israel, the true religion was even there at a very low ebb, according to the account we have of the state of it amongst the Israelites in those days: "The children of Israel did evil in the sight of the Lord, and served Baalim, and Ashtaroth, and the gods of Syria, and the gods of Zidon, and the gods of Moab, and the gods of the children of Ammon, and the gods of the Philistines, and forsook the Lord, and served him not (a)." And though we read, indeed, (b), that they had put away the strange gods, before Jephthah's return; yet the knowledge of the law of God could not be revived on a sudden. Probably therefore, as Jephthah had lived among the Heathen, with whom human sacrifices were commonly practised, and had little opportunity of acquaintance with the law of Jehovah, he might, at that time, think, the highest honour he could pay to the God of Israel, was to offer him a human sacrifice? Now, all this considered, will not his unavoidable ignorance plead strongly in his excuse? And may we not suppose he was a man of a pious turn, and had a zeal for God, though not according to knowledge, when he made, and performed, this vow?

2dly, Shall I venture to suggest a query, whether Jephthah's name being inserted in the catalogue of believers, or of those who are remarkable instances of the power of faith, is sufficient

(a) Judg. x. 6.

(b) ver. 16.

sufficient to prove that he was a good man? The design of this chapter is plainly, to show the power of faith in several different views of it, and as acted on several different objects. Therefore, though all the persons whose names are here mentioned, were, no doubt, remarkable instances of the power of faith, of one kind, or another; yet it is not perhaps so certain, that they all had justifying and saving faith.

The first person, mentioned in this catalogue, is Abel; whose faith, as it rendered his sacrifice more acceptable to God, than that of his brother Cain, must be supposed to respect the promised antitype of the ancient expiatory sacrifices, or the atonement of Christ. Soon after, Noah's faith is celebrated, for his believing God's threatning of the universal deluge; and then the faith of Abraham, and the patriarchs, by which they "looked for a city which hath foundations whose builder and maker is God;" and which therefore made them easy and contented with their sojourning and unsettled condition in this world. All these are said to "dye in faith (a)." After several other names, and instances of the power of faith, as acted upon particular promises, the apostle mentions some of the jewish heroic generals, whose faith in God's promise, of protecting and supporting their nation, inspired them with extraordinary courage in fighting for the Israelites against their enemies and oppressors; so that "by faith they subdued kingdoms." Yet, if a man might have the faith of miracles, so as to remove mountains, and not be a good man, as
the

(a) Heb. xi. 13.

the apostle elfewhere fupposes (*a*); might he not have this particular faith in God's promise of fupporting the Israelitish nation, for which Rahab, and Gideon, and Barak, and Samfon, and Jephthah are here celebrated, and at the fame time not be a good man?

It will be replied perhaps,

1st, That after the catalogue of thofe names it is added (*b*), "of whom the world was not worthy."

I answer, That feems to be faid, not of the victorious generals, who are mentioned along with Jephthah, but of another clafs of believers, who are mentioned after them; namely, the confeflors and martyrs, who had been fo unworthily treated by the world.

2dly, Is it not intimated in the two laft verfes of this eleventh chapter of the epiftle to the Hebrews, that all thofe whose names were before recited, are now made perfect? "Thefe all, having obtained a good report through faith, received not the promifes, God having provided fome better thing for us, that they without us fhould not be made perfect."

We answer, The verb *τελειοω*, and the adjective *τελειος*, are applied by the Greek writers to maturity of age; and thus in the New Testament (*c*), *τελειων δε ειν η σερεια τροφη*: "Strong meat is for them that are of full age." Again, "In malice be ye children, but in understanding be ye men," *τελειοι γινεσθε* (*d*). And *ανηρ τελειος* (*e*) fignifies a perfect or full grown man*.

Now

(*a*) I Cor. xiii. 2. (*b*) Heb. xi. 38. (*c*) Heb. v. 14. (*d*) I Cor. xiv. 20. (*e*) Eph. iv. 13.

* See Xenoph. Cyropæd. lib. i. p. 6. edit. Hutch. 1738. where *τελειοις ανδρασιν* may be tranflated, *viris adeptis plenam ætatem*, full grown men.

Now the apostle represents the church under the former dispensation, when those persons lived of whom he had been speaking before, as in a state of minority; but under the gospel dispensation, as advanced to a state of maturity. The meaning therefore seems to be, that though God had vouchsafed some extraordinary measures of faith to particular persons, under the former dispensation; yet he did not then raise his church to that state of maturity to which he had now advanced it.

I shall close this dissertation with some arguments in confirmation of the more commonly received opinion, that Jephthah did sacrifice his daughter, and that he intended a human sacrifice when he made this vow.

Of this sentiment is Josephus, the chaldee paraphrast, and several famous rabbies. Some of them, indeed, founded their opinion on a mistaken sense of this passage in Leviticus, "None devoted, which shall be devoted of men, shall be redeemed; but shall surely be put to death, מות יומת moth jumath (a). From whence they concluded, that, in some cases, human sacrifices might be offered in conformity to the law of God. Whereas that text, either means, according to Dr. Sykes, that every person, who is devoted to the special service of God, as Samuel was by his mother, shall not be redeemed, but shall die in that devoted state: And he gives several instances, where מות יומת moth jumath, is thus applied to a natural death; as when God said unto Adam, "In the day that thou eatest thereof, thou shalt surely die (b); and

(a) chap. xxvii. 29:

(b) Gen. ii. 17;

and when the Lord said of the murmuring Israelites, "They shall surely die in the wilderness (*a*);" though they were not sacrificed or executed, but died a natural death *: Or else, the text in Leviticus, according to Mr. Selden, is to be restrained to such as were devoted to death by the appointment and law of God; as the inhabitants of Jericho (*b*); and such of the Israelites, as in case of war did not obey military orders, and perform the charge laid upon them; in particular, the inhabitants of Jabesh Gilead, who complied not with the general summons to go and fight against Benjamin (*c*). And perhaps it may extend to all who had been guilty of any crime, that was made capital by the law of God; and so the design of it was no more, then to restrain inferior magistrates from pardoning capital offenders, which was the prerogative of God only, as their king †.

Most of the ancient christian writers are of opinion, that Jephthah actually sacrificed his daughter; and so is Dr. Lightfoot ‡.

Now the chief reasons, which are alledged in favour of this opinion, besides that it agrees to the more natural meaning of the hebrew text, are

1st, That there is no rule, nor precedent in scripture, to justify the practice of devoting persons to perpetual virginity; but on the contrary, this is spoken of as one of the anti-christian corruptions of the "latter times, when men

(*a*) Numb. xxvi. 65.

* See Sykes's Principles and Connection of natural and revealed Religion, chap. 13.

(*b*) Josh. vi. 17.

(*c*) Judg. xxi. 5, 8, 9, 10.

† Selden de Jure Nat. & Gent. lib. iv. cap. 6,—10

‡ Sermon on Judg. xi. 39. vol. 2. p. 1215.

men should depart from the faith, and give heed to seducing spirits, and doctrines of devils (a).” Nor was there any office belonging to the temple service to be performed by women; except, perhaps, that some of the daughters of the Levites assisted by their voices in the temple choir; as some think, is intimated in this passage of the first book of Chronicles, “And God gave to Heman fourteen sons and three daughters. All these were under the hands of their father, for song in the house of the Lord with cymbals, psalteries and harps, for the service of the house of God, according to the king’s order to Asaph, Jeduthun and Heman (b).” However Jephthah was not a Levite, and therefore his daughter could bear no part even in that service; nor hath Nunnery any countenance, either in the jewish, or christian law; and to suppose, therefore, that Jephthah devoted his daughter to perpetual virginity, is to suppose him acting as contrary to the law of God, as if he had sacrificed her.

3dly, What could he expect to come out of the door of his house to meet him, but a human person? Can we think that Jephthah had his dog in his thoughts, when he made this vow? a creature, that was particularly excepted from being in any sense sanctified and devoted to God; as any clean beast might be (c).

3dly, If he had intended no more than the sacrifice of a bullock, or a ram, what need was there of such a solemn vow? If he had meant a brutal sacrifice, he would surely have vowed to sacrifice Hecatombs, rather than a single animal, on so great an occasion; or like Jacob,

(a) 1 Tim. iv. 1.

(b) 1 Chron. xxv. 5, 6.

(c) Lev. xxvii. 9, 11. compared with Deut. xxiii. 18.

he would have vowed to give the "tenth of all his substance unto the Lord (a)."

4thly, We read, that it was a "custom in Israel, that the daughters of Israel went yearly to lament the daughter of Jephthah (b)." Now the hebrew word *חוק* *chok*, which we render custom, signifies a statute or ordinance of lasting obligation. Thus it is peculiarly applied to the law, which God gave by Moses, in the following passage, "Behold I have taught you statutes *חוקים* *chukkim*) and judgments, even as the Lord my God commanded me, that ye should do so in the land whither ye go to possess it. Keep therefore, and do them, for this is your wisdom and your understanding in the sight of the nations, which shall hear all these statutes," *כל-החוקים* *col-hachukkim*. (c) And so in many other places. This custom, therefore, of the daughters of Israel seems to be intended for an annual rite in perpetuum; and not that they went yearly to talk with her, as long as she lived.

It is highly probable, that Homer grounded his fable of Agamemnon's sacrificing his daughter Iphigenia, on some tradition of Jephthah's sacrifice. And indeed the name Iphigenia seems to be a corruption of Jephthigenia, the daughter of Jephthah. Ovid, who has dressed up the story in his way, makes Diana put a stag in her room; and seems, therefore, to have blended the tradition of Abraham's sacrifice with that of Jephthah *. But to return to the consideration of the hebrew government.—

(a) Gen. xxviii. 22. (b) Judg. xi. 39, 40. (c) Deut. iv. 6. * Vid. Capelli Diatrib. de voto Jephth. per totum; apud criticos sacros in Jud. xi. and Mr. Hallet's note on Heb. xi. 32.

We have distinguished the time, in which God exercised a special authority over the people of Israel, into four periods, and are now upon the second of them; namely, from their entrance into Canaan to the captivity. We have gone through the government of the judges. We proceed now to the reign of the kings.

This continued, saith Godwin, from Saul to the captivity of Babylon about 530 years. But as, in the course of this work, we shall have a chapter by itself concerning the jewish kings, I shall only for the present observe, that they were of two sorts; those that reigned over the whole hebrew nation, who were only three, Saul, David, and Solomon; and those that reigned over some of the tribes only.

And these were

1st, The kings of the house of David, who were twenty in number, if you reckon Athaliah the queen, who usurped the throne for six years, after the death of her son Ahaziah (*a*). These kings reigned over the two tribes of Judah and Benjamin, until Nebuchadnezzar carried Zedekiah, the last of them, captive unto Babylon. They took their title from the larger tribe, and were called kings of Judah.

2dly, The kings of Israel, who reigned over the other ten tribes from the time of their rebellion against Rehoboam, the son of Solomon, to the Assyrian captivity. These kings were of several different families, and were in all nineteen from Jeroboam, the first, to Hosea, the last.

We

(*a*) 2 Kings xi.

We now proceed to the third period, which takes in the time of the captivity, and concludes with the end of it.

As the hebrew nation was divided into two distinct kingdoms, so each kingdom suffered a distinct captivity; the one is called the Assyrian, the other the Babylonish.

The Assyrian captivity was that of the ten tribes, which was begun in the reign of Pekah, king of Israel, when Tiglath-pileser, king of Assyria, conquered a part of his country, and carried away the people captive to Assyria (*a*): It was afterwards compleated by Salmanassar, who took Samaria, the capital of the kingdom of Israel, after three years siege, and went up through the land, and carried away the residue of the people captive into Assyria (*b*).

The people of the kingdom of Israel had greatly corrupted the worship of God, and had been very much given to idolatry, ever since their separation from the kingdom of Judah. It is said, that “they walked in the statutes of the Heathen, and served idols (*c*). And it is no wonder, therefore, that when they were removed into Assyria, multitudes of them fell in with the idolatrous worship and customs of that country, becoming mixed with the Assyrians, and in time losing the very name of Jews and Israelites; insomuch that the greater part of the ten tribes, as a peculiar people and visible church of God, were quite lost in that captivity.

The

(*a*) 2 Kings xv. 29:
(*c*) ver. 8, 12.

(*b*) 2 Kings xvii. 5, 6.

C. I. The Babylonish captivity. 65

The Babylonish captivity was that of the kingdom of Judah, or of the two tribes, who adhered to the house of David. It was begun by Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, in the reign of Jehoiakim, whom Nebuchadnezzar "bound in fetters, to carry him to Babylon. And he also carried away some of the vessels belonging to the house of the Lord, to furnish his own temple in Babylon (*a*)."

From hence begun the period of the seventy years captivity. The people, buoyed up by their false prophets, were induced to believe, that these sacred vessels should be shortly brought again from Babylon; but Jeremiah assured them of the contrary, and that all the remaining vessels should be carried after them (*b*). Accordingly about nine years afterwards, in the reign of Jehoiakim, Nebuchadnezzar made a second descent against Judah, and "besieged Jerusalem, and took it, and carried away the king, and all the nobles, and the great men, and officers, and ten thousand captives to Babylon, with all the treasure of the house of the Lord, and the treasure of the king's house; and cut in pieces all the vessels of gold, which Solomon had made for the temple (*c*)."

But the word *וַיִּקַּץ* *vaikatzetz*, is not well rendered "cut in pieces", since it appears by a passage in Daniel, that these vessels were preserved entire; for "Belshazzar, and his princes, his wives, and his concubines, drank wine in them (*d*)."

The verb *וַיִּקַּץ* *kat-zatz*, signifies "to cut off;" as in the following passage of the second book of Samuel, "David commanded his young men, and they slew them, that is, Rechab and Baanah the

VOL. I. F murderers

(*a*) 2 Chron. xxxvi. 6, 7. (*b*) Jer. xxvii. 16, 17, 21, 22. (*c*) 2 Kings xxiv. 10, — 16. (*d*) Dan. v. 2.

murderers of Ishbosheth, and cut off, יקטצו
vaikatzetzu, their hands and their feet, &c. (a)" Where it is used in the same form, as it is in the passage before us; in which, therefore, it can mean no more than the vessels being cut off from their stands or bases, and taken away from the temple.

Again, eleven years after this in the reign of Zedekiah, Nebuzai-adan, the babylonian general, came and sacked and burnt Jerusalem, and the temple, and carried away the remainder of the sacred vessels, together with all the Jews who remained in the country, (except some poor people, whom he left to till the land) captives into Babylon (b).

Four years after this, which was the twenty-third of the seventy, or from the beginning of the Babylonish captivity, Nebuzar-adan again invaded the land of Israel, and seized upon all the Jews he could meet with, and sent them captive to Babylon (c). This was done probably in revenge for the murder of Gedaliah, whom Nebuchadnezzar had made governor of the Land; but whom Ishmael killed (d). Upon the murder of Gedaliah, Johanan the son of Kareah, and many of the people, that were left, fled into Egypt for fear of the king of Babylon (e). So that all the Jews that Nebuzar-adan now found, and made captive, amounted to no more than seven hundred and fifty persons. Thus was the captivity of Judah compleated, and the land was made desolate, none of its former inhabitants being now left in it.

But

(a) 2 Sam. iv. 12. So also, 2 Kings xvi. 17. Ahaz "cut off" the borders of the bases, &c. and chap. xviii. 16. Hezekiah "cut off" the gold from the doors, &c. Hallet's notes and discourses, vol. i. p. 14. (b) 2 Kings xxv. 8, &c. (c) Jer. liii. 30. (d) Jer. xli. 2. (e) ver. 16,—18. chap. xliii. 4,—7.

C. I. Return from the captivity. 67

But though the captivity of Israel, and of Judah, had different beginnings, the former commencing an hundred years before the latter; yet they ended together, when Cyrus the king of Persia, having conquered both the Chaldeans and Assyrians, and obtained universal monarchy, issued out a decree for restoring the Jews to their own land, and for rebuilding Jerusalem and the temple (*a*). This is that famous Cyrus, who one hundred and forty years before the temple was destroyed, and two hundred years before he was born, was mentioned by name, in the prophecy of Isaiah, as designed by God for restoring his people (*b*). It is not improbable, that prophecy might have been shewn to Cyrus by some captive Jews, perhaps by Daniel; which might be a means of moving him to accomplish it. This appears to have been the opinion of the Jews in the time of Josephus, which they had probably received by tradition. For he makes Cyrus say in his decree, “Because the supreme God hath apparently made me king of the world, I believe him to be he, whom the people of Israel adore; for he predicted my name by his prophets, and that I should build his temple at Jerusalem in the land of Judea *

Upon this decree, the tribes of Judah and Benjamin assembled out of the several provinces of the kingdom of Babylon, and put themselves under the conduct of Zerubbabel, the grandson of Jehoiakim, king of Judah, who was made their governor; and of Joshua the high-priest, to the number of forty-nine thousand six hundred and ninety-seven persons, and

F 2 returned

(*a*) Ezra i. 1,—3. (*b*) Isa. xlv. 28. xlv. 1,—4.

* Antiq. lib. xi. cap. 1. §. 1. edit. Haverc.

returned to their own land (*a*). And though the ten tribes, in their national capacity, were never restored; but the most part continue in their dispersion to this day; insomuch that the Assyrian captivity put a final period to the kingdom of Israel; yet as the decree of Cyrus extended to all the Jews, several persons belonging to the ten tribes, now joined themselves to Judah and Benjamin, and returned with them to their own land. We read, therefore, that among the sacrifices offered at the feast of the dedication of the temple, on its being rebuilt, there were “twelve he-goats according to the number of the tribes of Israel (*b*).” Again, we read of “twelve bullocks” being sacrificed “for all Israel (*c*).” From whence it is highly probable, that some of all the ten tribes were now returned; though still it appears, that great numbers of the Jews, probably most part of the ten tribes, who still adhered to the old religion, remained among the Heathen in the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus; whom Dr. Prideaux takes to be the Ahasuerus mentioned in the book of Esther, and for which opinion he offers substantial reasons. This, therefore, must have been near eighty years after their first return, in the reign of Cyrus. It was at this time, that Ezra, a descendant from Seraiah the high-priest, and on account of his great learning called the scribe, obtained an ample commission from Artaxerxes for his return to Jerusalem, with all of his own nation who were willing to accompany him (*d*). Upon this many more of the Jews returned to their own land. Yet after all, few of the ten tribes, in

com-

(*a*) See Ezra ii.(*b*) Ezra vi. 17.(*c*) Ezra viii.35. (*d*) Ezra vii.

C. I. Return from the captivity. 69

comparifon with thofe of Judah and Benjamin, ever returned from their difperfon. It appears, that at the time of Haman's confpiracy, which muft have been four or five years after the fecond return under Ezra, there were ftill a multitude of Jews difperfed through the various provinces of the Perfian empire; befides thofe, who had mingled with idolaters, and embraced their religion. Dr. Prideaux thinks, it was by the favour of Efther that Ezra obtained his commiffion, and was made governor of the Jews in their own Land; which government he exercifed for thirteen years. After him fucceeded Nehemiah, who had a new commiffion granted him by Artaxerxes, in the twentieth year of his reign, with full authority to repair the wall of Jerufalem, and fortify it, in the fame manner as before it was difmantled by the Babylonians.

It may reasonably be conjectured, that queen Efther's intereft with the king did not a little contribute to obtain this further favour for the Jews; and fo much, indeed, feems to be hinted in the hiftory of this tranfaction, where it is particularly remarked, that, when Artaxerxes gave this new commiffion to Nehemiah, "the queen was fitting by him (a)."

Nehemiah's commiffion fuperfeded that of Ezra, who therefore now refigned his government, and employed himfelf in collecting and publishing a new and correct edition of the Scriptures, and in reftoring the worfhip of God to its original purity*.

We proceed to the fourth period of the jew-
ifh hiftory, which contains about fix hundred

F 3

years,

(a) Nehem. ii. 6.

* See Prideaux's connection, part. 1. book, 5.

years, from the end of their captivity to the destruction of Jerusalem and of the Jewish polity.

The Jews, who, after the return from the captivity, were settled again in their own land, were no longer divided into two kingdoms, as they were before; but were all one people, and under one government; which yet varied in its form through several succeeding ages.

1st, Upon their return from the captivity, Judea became a province of the Persian empire; and was tributary to the Persian monarch; as appears from the letter, which the enemies of the Jews wrote to Artaxerxes, in order to prevent the rebuilding of Jerusalem; in which are these words, “Be it known now unto the king, that if this city be builded, and the walls set up again, then will they not pay toll, tribute, and custom, and so thou shalt endamage the revenue of the kings (a).” Notwithstanding which, though tributary, they enjoyed their own religion, and were governed by their own laws; and their governors, though they acted by virtue of a commission from the court of Persia, were, nevertheless, of their own nation; as Zerubbabel, Ezra, Nehemiah.

2dly, This state of things, and this form of government, continued for upwards of two hundred years, until the time of Alexander the great; who having destroyed the Persian empire, and established the Grecian universal monarchy, the Jews became subject to him, and his successors. Yet they were not properly conquered by him, as all the neighbouring nations were; God, having preserved them by a special

(a) Ezra iv. 13.

cial and very extraordinary providence, which is thus related by Josephus*.

When Alexander was engaged in the siege of Tyre, he sent to Jaddua, the jewish high-priest, for auxiliary troops, and necessaries for his army. Jaddua excused himself, alledging his oath to Darius. Alexander, being greatly increased, resolved to take a severe revenge. As soon, therefore, as he had made himself master of Tyre, and of Gaza, he marched against Jerusalem. Jaddua, in his pontifical robes, accompanied by the other priests in their proper habits, went out, by divine direction, in solemn procession to meet Alexander. As soon as the king saw him, he hastened towards him, and bowed down to him with a religious veneration of that sacred name, which was inscribed on the golden fillet round his tiara. While all stood amazed at this extraordinary behaviour, Parmenio alone ventured to enquire of him, why he, who was adored by all, should himself pay such devotion to the jewish high-priest. He replied, he did not pay it to the high-priest, but to the God whose priest he was; for that when he was at Dio in Macedonia, and was deliberating how he should carry on the war against the Persians, this very person, in the very habit he now wore, appeared to him in a dream, and encouraged him to pass over into Asia; assuring him, that God would give him the Persian empire. Having said this, Alexander gave his hand to Jaddua, and entered Jerusalem with him in a very friendly manner, and, under his direction, offered sacrifices to God in the temple. Here Jaddua shewed him

* Antiq. lib. xi. cap. 8. §. 3,—5. edit. Haverc.

the prophecy of Daniel, which predicted the overthrow of the Persian empire by a Grecian king. At which he was so pleased, that he ordered the Jews to request whatever was agreeable to them. Upon this Jaddua petitioned, that they might enjoy their own laws and religion, and be excused from paying tribute every seventh year, because in that year they neither sowed nor reaped. All which he freely granted.

After the death of Alexander the Jews became subject and tributary to the kings of Egypt, or Syria; as, by various turns of providence, one or the other extended their dominion and power into those parts. The former were called Lagii or Lagides, from Lagus the father of Ptolemy the first; the latter, Seleucii or Seleucides, from Seleucus Nicanor king of Syria.

The Jews, at length, were miserably persecuted and distressed by Antiochus Epiphanes, the eighth of the Seleucian kings, about one hundred and seventy years before Christ. He is generally supposed to be that "vile person," of whom Daniel prophesied under that appellation (*a*); and he actually proved altogether as profane and cruel as the prophet represents him; for he laid siege to Jerusalem, and took it by storm, and in two days time massacred forty thousand of its inhabitants, and sold as many more to the neighbouring nations for slaves. He impiously forced himself into the temple, and into the holy of holies; he sacrificed a great sow upon the altar of burnt-offerings, and caused broth to be made of some part of the flesh, and to be sprinkled all over the temple.

(*a*) chap. xi. 21. & seq.

temple. He afterwards plundered the sacred edifice of all its golden and silver vessels and utensils, to the value of eighteen hundred talents of gold; and having made the like plunder in the city, he left it, after he had, to the further vexation of the Jews, appointed Philip, a Phrygian, to be their governor; who was a man of a cruel and barbarous temper. Upon this

3dly, Their state and form of government was changed by the Maccabees.

When Antiochus had issued out a decree, that all nations, under his dominion, should conform to his religion, and worship the same gods and in the same manner, that he did; which decree was levelled chiefly against the Jews; he sent commissioners to execute it in Judea. One of them named Apelles, came to Modin, where dwelt Mattathias, a very honourable priest, and zealous for the law of his God; he was the great-grandson of Asmonæus; from whence it is probable the family had the name of Asmoneans; though others derive that title from the hebrew word חַשְׁמָנִים chashmannim, which signifies magnates or proceres. This Mattathias, with his five sons, fell upon the king's commissioner, as he was endeavouring to persuade the people to sacrifice to idols, and slew him and all his attendants. After which he retired into the mountains; whither many of the Jews following him, they formed an army, and stood upon their defence. Afterwards, leaving their fastnesses, they went about the country, destroying the heathen altars, and idolaters, and restoring the worship of God according to the law, wherever they came. Mattathias, who was aged, died the

next

next year, and was succeeded in the command of the army by his son Judas ; who took for the motto of his standard,

מִי כַמּוֹכָה בְּאֵלִים יְהוָה

mi camo-ka baelim Jehovah (a),

“ Who is like unto thee, O Lord, among the Gods ? ” This motto is said to have been written, not at length, but only by the first letter of each word מִי כַמּוֹכָה ; as P. S. Q. R, for *populus senatusque romanus*, was written on the roman standard. These four initial letters are generally supposed to have formed the artificial word Maccabi ; from whence this Judas has been commonly called Judas Maccabæus ; and those that sided with him, and fought under his standard were termed Maccabees. This is the opinion of Buxtorf, Prideaux, and almost all the learned. But Dr. Kennicot doubts of this derivation, since in some ancient manuscripts the name is written with a *q* instead of a *k* *. But whatever was the original of the word Maccabæus, it afterwards became a general name for all such as suffered in the cause of the true religion, under the Egyptian or Syrian kings. Accordingly it is applied by the ancient christian writers to some, who died many years before Judas set up his standard †.

The

(a) Exod. xv. 11.

* See his second Dissert. on the State of the printed Hebrew Text p. 535.

† If the common derivation of the name, Maccabees, be the true one, it was probably the original of artificial names, made of initial letters ; which have since been much used both by Jews and Christians. Thus, among the Jews, Rambam signifies Rabbi Moses Ben Maimon ; and Ralbag stands for Rabbi Levi Ben Gerson. We have likewise modern

C. I. Judea subject to the Romans. 75

The Jews enjoyed their liberty under a succession of the asmonean princes, though not without frequent wars and confusions, for near an hundred years; till Aristobulus, endeavouring to wrest the crown from his elder brother Hyrcanus, raised a civil war; which gave the Romans an opportunity to conquer Judea, and to reduce it into the form, first, of a tributary kingdom; and afterwards, of a roman province. This brings us to the last state of the Jews before their utter destruction as a nation.

4thly, They were subject to the Romans, and governed by kings appointed by the roman emperors; as by Herod, and afterward, by his son Archelaus, and then by a succession of roman prefects, till the period of their state and polity, when the "Scepter entirely departed from Judah, and the lawgiver from betwixt his feet," according to Jacob's celebrated prophecy, which Godwin speaks of at the end of his first chapter. But as his account of it, and of the controversies concerning its meaning and accomplishment, is very imperfect, I shall here give a more full and complete one.

Con-

modern instances of the same sort of devices in our own country. About the year 1640 there were several treatises published again Diocesan Episcopacy under the name, Smeectymnuus, which was made of the initial letters of the names of five divines, who were the authors of those pieces, Stephen Marshal, Edmund Calamy, Thomas Young, Matthew Newcomen, and William Spurflow. The word Cabal is of the same kind, being made of the initial letters of the names of five lords in Charles the second's reign, who caballed together, as we may now express it, to make the king absolute; Clifford, Arlington, Buckingham, Anthony Ashley Cooper, and Lauderdale.

Concerning Jacob's prophecy.

“ The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet, until Shiloh come, and unto him shall the gathering of the people be (a).”

And here

1st, I will consider the literal meaning of the words: And

2dly, Their prophetic import,

1st, As to the literal meaning of those words, concerning which any doubt has been made, they are these four, שבט shebhet, the sceptre; מחקק mechokek, the lawgiver; רגליו raglaiv, his feet; and שילה Shiloh.

The first word is שבט shebhet, which we translate the sceptre; for which rendering we have the united authority of the three targums, namely, Onkelos, Jonathan, and the Jerusalem; besides a great many of the modern rabbies. But others understand by it a tribe, as the same word sometimes signifies; particularly in the sixteenth and twenty-eighth verses of this very chapter, in which the prophecy we are now considering is recorded, and in some other places. And so they make the meaning of the first clause to be, “ Judah shall not cease from being a tribe.” Others, again, (chiefly of the modern Jews,) understand by שבט shebhet, the rod of correction or affliction, as the word sometimes imports (b). Accordingly they make this clause to signify, Judah shall not cease from being an afflicted people. But the peace and prosperity which Judah and all Israel have
some-

(a) Gen. xlix. 10.
Lam. iii. 1.

(b) Job ix. 34. 2 Sam. vii. 14.

sometimes enjoyed, particularly during the reigns of David and Solomon, are a sufficient objection against adopting that sense in this place. The truth is, שבט shebhet, from שבת shabhat, produxit, to produce, primarily signifies a rod or wand, shooting from the root of a tree; and in a metaphorical sense, it denotes correction, of which a rod is often the instrument; a tribe, which springs out of a common stock; a sceptre, and several other things. The meaning of it, therefore, in any particular place, must be determined by the context, and by the subject there spoken of. Now as the context, immediately preceding this famous prophecy, foretells the dominion of Judah, not only over his enemies, but over his brethren (*a*), nothing can be so naturally understood by שבט shebhet, in this clause, as a sceptre; and so it predicts the continuance and duration of that power and authority, which was just before promised. In this sense the same phrase is used, nor is it capable of any other, when it is said, "The sceptre of Egypt shall depart away (*b*)."

The next word to be explained is מִחֶקֶק mechokek, from חָקַק chakak, scripsit, statuit, mandavit, to ordain, command; which is therefore very properly rendered a lawgiver. However, it seems to be a word of a lower signification than שבט shebhet, which denotes royal authority; as, "he that holdeth the sceptre," means the king (*c*). Accordingly, the מִחֻקִּים mechokekim, mentioned in the book of Judges, are the chief men, or magistrates, of the tribes of Israel (*d*); who, though they were governors,

(*a*) ver. 8, 9. (*b*) Zech. x. 11. (*c*) Amos i. 5.
 (*d*) Judg. v. 9, 14.

nors; as we render the word; yet were not vested with royal and supreme authority.

The next word is רגליו *raglaiv*, his feet; of the literal meaning of which there is no doubt; unless we admit the correction of Ludolphus, who for רגליו *raglaiv*, would read דגליו *diglaiv*, his banner, agreeable to the samaritan copy. But there is no sufficient reason to admit this correction, contrary to the targums, and most of the ancient versions. The phrase therefore מבין רגליו *mibbein raglaiv*, either signifies, as Waginseil renders it, even “to the last end of his state;” just as “the people at the feet,” an expression used in some places (*a*), denotes those that follow, or bring up the rear; or the word מבין *mibbein*, seems to determine רגליו *raglaiv*, to the sense that is more commonly received, namely, from thy seed or posterity; referring to the situation of the parts of generation.

4thly, But the greatest controversy of all is about the meaning of the word שילה *shiloh*, which our translators have not ventured to render by any english word, but have retained the original. As it is an ἀπαξ λεγόμενον, and nothing in the context will certainly determine from what root it is derived, interpreters are much divided about its signification. Le Clerc is for deducing it from the chaldee word שלה *shelah*; cessavit, to cease, and so makes it to signify, the end. Accordingly he represents the sense of this prophecy to be, “that from the time the sceptre came into the tribe of Judah, it will continue in it, till that tribe be at an end.” But this opinion has been confuted by Monsieur Saurin*.

The

(*a*) Exod. xi. 8. 2 Kings iii. 9.

* See his disc. histor. disc. 41.

The translators of the arabic and syriac versions seem to have read שלו shelo, illius, his or to him, and so render it, "whose it is," that is, the kingdom. And not much different is the septuagint version, which renders שילה shiloh, τα αποκειμενα αυτω, donec veniant quæ reposita sunt ei, or according to other copies, ω αποκει-ται, he for whom it is reserved. Others derive it from שיל shil, which they will have to signify a son, because שליה shileiah, signifies something that belongs to the birth. But I take the most probable opinion to be, either that Shiloh comes from שלח shilach, misfit, to send, writing ה for ח, and so it signifies, him that is sent, or whom God would send; under which character our Saviour is often spoken of in the New Testament; (and this is the opinion of Jerom and Grotius;) or else it comes from שלה shalah, tranquillus est, quievit, and so it signifies peaceable, or a peace-maker; answerable to that name of the Messiah שר שלום far shalom, the prince of peace (a). But let the original of the word שילה shiloh, be what it will, it is almost universally acknowledged to mean the Messiah; in particular, by all the targums, as well as by many other ancient and modern Jews, as well as Christians. Having thus considered the literal meaning of the words of this prophecy, we are

2dly, To enquire into its prophetical import, and the time of its accomplishment.

According to the learned Joseph Mede, in his discourse on this prophecy, the sceptre, and the lawgiver, are pretty much synonymous terms

(a) Isa. ix. 6.

terms, importing any power or majesty of government, under what form or name soever; and the meaning of the sceptre not departing from Judah is, not that it should not cease from having a king, or being a kingdom; but that it should not cease from being a state or body politic, or from having a power of government and jurisdiction within itself, till the Messiah came. Accordingly it is observable; that Judah, with the little appendage of Benjamin, was the only tribe in which the sceptre did, in this sense, continue to the end of the Jewish polity. For it entirely departed from the other ten tribes at the Assyrian captivity.

As for the last clause of the prophecy, "to him shall the gathering of the people be," Mr. Mede understands it of another event, which should also be accomplished before the sceptre departed from Judah, namely, the conversion of the Gentiles to the Christian faith. When, therefore our Saviour foretels the destruction of Jerusalem and the Jewish state, he adds, "This gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in all the world, for a witness to all nations; and then shall the end come (a)." But Dr. Patrick inclines to Waginseil's sense; which is, that there should be, either king, or governor among the Jews till the coming of Christ; for the Vau before מֶחֱכֶק mechokek, may as well be understood disjunctively as copulatively: In which case "the sceptre" may refer to the royal government in the house of David; and the "lawgiver," (which, we observed before, is a word of a lower signification,) to the form of government under Zerubbabel

(a) Matt. xxiv. 14.

rubbabel, the Maccabees, &c. till Judea was made a roman province. For though some of these governors were not of the tribe of Judah; the Maccabees, for instance, who were priests of the tribe of Levi; nevertheless the tribe of Judah was the centre of the state, or the seat of government. And he further observes, that these two forms of government, signified by the sceptre and the lawgiver, nearly divided the whole time, from the beginning to the end of Judah's authority, into two equal parts, there being a little more than five centuries under each. However, presently after our Saviour's birth, the Jews lost even their מֶחֱקִים mechokekim, or governors, as they had before lost the sceptre; and the administration of public affairs was no longer in their own hands *.

* Mede's diatribæ, disc. viii.—Kidder's demonstr. of the Messiah, part. 3. chap. 7.—Saurin's discours. histor. disc. 41.—Patrick in loc.—Prideaux's connect. sub. A. C. 8. vol. 4. p. 932. edit. 10.—Bishop Sherlock's 3d. dissert. in his disc. on prophecy.—Bishop of Bristol (Newton) on the prophecies, vol. 1. p. 94, &c.—An account of the various interpretations both of the Jews and Christians may be found, not only in these Authors, but in Le Clerc in loc. and especially in Martin. Helvic. de vaticin. Jacobi, apud critic. sacr. tom. 8.—Huet. demonstr. evang. prop. 9. cap. 4.—Christoph. Cartwright. electa targumico-rabbin. in Gen. and Jacobi Altingii Schilo, seu de Patriarchæ Jacobi vaticinio.

On the general subject of the preceding chapter, see Spencer de Theocratia judaicâ; apud Leges hebræor. Witius de Theocrat. israeliticâ; and especially Mr Lowman's civil government of the Hebrews.



CH A P. II.

Of the P U B L I C A N S.

BEFORE we treat of the publicans, or tax gatherers, it will be proper to premise something concerning the jewish taxes.

Of the taxes.

It was observed in a former lecture, that as the law of Moses was the only codex juris, or body of law, enacted by God, the king of Israel, for the government both of church and state; and as the priests were appointed to dispense it; they are properly to be considered as ministers of state, as well as of religion; and therefore the tythes, and the portion of sacrifices, which the law assigned for their maintenance, were in the nature of taxes, payable for the support of the government. Besides these we read of no other stated taxes, appointed by the law; except a pole tax of half a shekel, which, when they were numbered in the wilderness, was levied upon every man from twenty years old and upwards; and it is said to be designed for “ a ransom, or atonement for his

his soul," and to be "appointed for the service of the tabernacle of the congregation (*a*)."

It is not provided that this tax should be paid annually; but being intended for the ransom of their souls, or as an act of homage, and acknowledgment to God, of their being his redeemed people, there was equal reason, in the opinion of the Jewish doctors, for its constant subsistence, as for its original appointment; and being devoted to the service of the tabernacle of the congregation, by which they understand their daily sacrifice and offerings, salt for the sacrifices, wood for the altar of burnt-offering, incense, shewbread, &c. which were constant national charges; from hence they infer that the tax to support them must be national, and annual or stated. But Grotius is of opinion, that this pole tax, at least in the former ages of the Hebrew commonwealth, was not annual; but only levied on peculiar exigences; as when the free-will-offerings, dedicated by the princes and people to maintain the house of the Lord, were not sufficient; (for we read of large donations for that purpose in David's time, which seem to render this pole tax needless (*b*);) or, when some extraordinary expence, about the sanctuary and its service, occurred; as, for repairing the temple in the reign of king Joash; who "gathered the priests and the Levites, and commanded them to collect from all Israel money to repair the house of the Lord from year to year;" and on account of their dilatoriness the order being repeated, "proclamation was made through Judah and Jerusalem, to bring in the collection that Moses, the servant of God, laid

G 2

upon

(*a*) Exod. xxx. 12,—16.(*b*) 1 Chron. xxvi. 26, 27.

upon Israel in the wilderness (*a*).” Now one can hardly suppose, this tax would have been levied by proclamation, unless it had been occasional and not stated and annual. In Nehemiah’s time, it was also levied by a new ordinance; for which there would have been no occasion, if the law of Moses had made it perpetual*. On account of the people’s poverty, it was, at this time, lowered from one half to one third of a shekel (*b*). This third of a shekel Aben-ezra will have to be an additional voluntary contribution, over and above the annual tax of the half shekel. But considering the low circumstances the Jews were now in, and how they had been impoverished by the late captivity, that is not probable†.

If we suppose this pole tax was not, by divine appointment, stated and annual; but only levied on publick exigencies; we may, perhaps, be able to account for David’s numbring the people being represented as so heinous a sin (*c*); for which different interpreters have given very different reasons.

The common opinion is, that his sin consisted in his pride and vanity, which made him desirous of knowing how populous and powerful his country was. Raibag, who is followed by Abarbanel, conceives it lay in making flesh his arm, and confiding in the multitude of his subjects. Some make it consist in infidelity, and mistrust of God’s promise to Abraham, that he would “increase his seed like the stars of heaven, which no man should be able to number (*d*).”

However,

(*a*) 2 Chron. xxiv. 5, 6, 9. * See Lowman’s civil govern. of the Hebr. p. 96. & seq. (*b*) Nehem. x. 32, 33.

† See Aben-ezra in loc. and Grotius on Matt. xvii. 24.

(*c*) 2 Sam. xxiv. 1 Chron. xxi. (*d*) Gen. xv. 5.

However, if Grotius be right about the pole tax, it may incline one to adopt Dr. Lightfoot's opinion, that "God gave up David to a covetous thought, to number the people, that he might lay a tax upon every pole*." And if so, we cannot wonder, his sin is represented as so heinous: the guilt was very complicated; being, besides avarice, a contradiction to the law of God, in levying the tax when there was no occasion for it; and an act of tyranny and oppression on the people. But to return,

However it was in former times, this tax certainly became annual and stated in the later ages of the jewish commonwealth; having, perhaps, been made so by the asmonean princes; who being high-priests, as well as possessed of the sovereign civil authority, would very likely be for increasing the ecclesiastical revenues, by converting that occasional tax into a stated one. We have the testimony of Josephus, that this tax was paid annually; for he saith, Vespasian commanded every Jew to pay the annual tribute of two drachmæ to the capitol, which had been formerly paid to the temple at Jerusalem†. Now bishop Cumberland informs us, that the attick drachm answered to the fourth part of the jewish shekel, which weighed half an ounce avoirdupois‡; two drachms, therefore, answered to the half shekel, being in value of our money a little more than one shilling and two-pence. Mr.

G 3

Selden.

* Harmony of the Old Test. sub anno mund. 2988. Davidis, 39.

† De bell. Iud. lib. vii. cap. 6. §. 6. edit. Haverc. See also Dion Cassius, lib lxvi. cap. 7. p. 1082. edit. Reimari, 1752.

‡ See his essay on jewish weights and measures, chap. 4.

Selden *, thinks, that this was the tax Cicero refers to, when, in his oration pro Flacco, he speaks of “Gold, sent every year in the name of the Jews out of Italy, and all the provinces, to Jerusalem.” † This I take to be the tribute which was demanded of Christ (*a*); not only because it is called δίδραχμα, which signifieth two drachms, and so answereth to the jewish half shekel; but because the reason, which he alledgeth, why he might have excused himself from paying it (*b*), shows, it was a tribute paid, not to the roman emperor, (as Salmasius thinks ‡,) but to God for the service of his temple: So that Christ, being the son of God, might have pleaded an exemption.

It may possibly be objected, that if this tribute was a stated annual tax, payable by every Jew; how came the collectors to enquire of Peter, “Doth not your master pay tribute? To this it is replied,

1st, They might be in doubt, whether he would chuse to pay it at Capernaum, where at that time he was, which, very likely, they could not have obliged him to do; or at his own town of Nazareth, or at Jerusalem. Or

2dly, The meaning of the question may be, whether he would pay it then, on the spot. For the doctors tell us, that on the first day of the month Adar, notice was given, throughout all the country, for men to make this payment; and officers were appointed to sit in every city of Judea, to receive it; yet nobody was obliged

* De jure nat, & gent. lib. vi. cap. xviii. apud opera, vol. i. tom. i. p. 691. edit. Londini; 1726.

† Ciceronis oper. vol. 5. §. 27. p. 345. edit. Olivet. Genev. 1758.

(*a*) Matt. xvii. 24. (*b*) ver. 25, 26.

‡ Salmasii ad Johannem Miltonum responsio, p. 272.

liged to pay it immediately ; but if they did not pay it in a certain prefixed time afterwards, they were then compelled.

These taxes, namely, the tythes, the sacri-fical offerings, and the pole tax of the half shekel, (whether annual or occasional,) are all the taxes expressly levied by the mosaic law. We read, indeed, of an extraordinary contri-bution for the building of the tabernacle, which God ordered Moses to recommend to the peo-ple (*a*) ; and which they made so liberally, that their lawgiver thought proper to restrain them by proclamation (*b*). However, this was not in the nature of a tax, but a free gift, every one giving as he pleased.

As for the expences of war, in which the Israelites were often engaged, it is to be con-sidered, that they held their estates by military tenure ; for it appeareth from the exemptions al-lowed some persons on particular occasions, from attending military service (*c*), that all others were bound to attend *. So that the israelitish troops were a militia, maintained at their own expence ; which was the reason of Jesse's send-ing provisions to his sons in Saul's army (*d*). There was ordinarily, therefore, no need of taxes to defray the charges of war.

When the Israelites came to be governed by kings, who, like other monarchs, affected pomp and magnificence ; no doubt, some taxes were necessary to defray that extraordinary ex-pence, and to support the dignity of the crown ; and though these taxes were not properly of

G 4

God's

(*a*) Exod. xxv. 2.(*b*) Exod xxxvi. 3,—7.(*c*) Deut. xx. 5, &c.(*d*) 1 Sam. xvii. 17, 18.

* See Lowman's Civil Government of the Hebrews, chap. 4. p. 52.

God's appointment, any more than the regal government itself; yet the Jews look upon this law in the book of Deuteronomy, "Neither shall the king greatly multiply to himself silver and gold (*a*)," as implying a permission to levy necessary taxes on the people; only God foreseeing they would in time change the form of government which he had appointed, into a monarchy like that of other nations, restrains their kings by this prohibition, from levying expensive taxes on the subject.

It should seem, Solomon did not sufficiently regard this restraint; for he multiplied to himself not only "horses and wives," contrary to the law (*b*); but also "silver and gold;" so that the people groaned under the burden of taxes: which proved the immediate occasion of the revolt of the ten tribes from his son and successor Rehoboam (*c*). How these taxes were levied does not appear in the scripture history.

After the captivity the Jews were tributary to the Persians, as is plain from the letter which their enemies wrote to Artaxerxes, to prevent the rebuilding of Jerusalem; in which they inform him that if the city be built and fortified, then the Jews "will not pay toll, tribute and custom (*d*)."

We have no account how the toll, tribute, and custom, here mentioned, were levied. By the first of these words Grotius understands a pole tax; by the second, a duty upon commodities and merchandize; and by the third, a tax upon their land; but Witsius, a land tax, or rather a tax on property in general, by the first; a pole tax, by the second; and a toll

(*a*) Deut. xvii. 17. (*b*) ver. 16, 17.

(*c*) See 1 Kings xii. 4.

(*d*) Ezra iv. 13.

toll collected on the road, from merchants, who travelled with their goods from place to place, by the third *. However that be, it is probable the whole tribute to the Persian monarch was paid by the chief governor of Judea, out of the taxes which he levied on the subject.

When Pompey conquered Judea, and put an end to the asmonean race of kings, (which Godwin says was about sixty years before Christ,) the Jews became tributary to the Romans. But he is mistaken in supposing, as he seems to have done, that the Publicans, so often mentioned in the New Testament, subsisted among them, immediately from that conquest. For Publicans were tax gatherers in the roman provinces. Now Judea was not reduced into the form of a province till the reign of Augustus, and some years after our Saviour's birth. Till then it was only a dependent kingdom, governed by its own kings; though not, as formerly, natives and chosen by the Jews, but appointed by the roman emperors. Herod, who succeeded Antigonus, the last of the asmonean race, was not a Jew, but an Idumean †.

Archelaus, Herod's son, and successor, having committed many flagrant acts of male administration and tyranny, both the Jews and Samaritans sent ambassadors, to accuse him before Augustus. Upon which he was summoned to Rome, where not being able to clear himself

* Miscell. tom. 2. exercitat. xi. §. xxi. p. 289.

† This hath made some suppose, that the sceptre, departed from Judah, according to Jacob's prophecy, upon the accession of Herod. But that must be a mistake; since he acceded above thirty years before Shiloh, or the Messiah came. The truth is, the sceptre was still amongst them, though he who swayed it, was not a native.

self of the crimes charged upon him, which were fully proved; he was deposed from his principality after he had reigned ten years. This happened anno Dom. 8. or in the 12th year of our Saviour's age*.

Augustus took this opportunity to reduce Judea into the form of a roman province; and sent Publius Sulpitius Quirinius, afterwards made president of Syria, (the same who according to the greek way of writing his name, is called Cyrenius by St. Luke (*a*),) to seize the country over which Archelaus had reigned; and with him Coponius, a Roman of the equestrian order, to take upon him the government, under the title of procurator of Judea, yet in subordination to the president of Syria. It should seem, the emperor had formed this design several years before, when he ordered the publick census, or enrollment, of the subjects of the empire to extend to Judea; which occasioned the virgin Mary's being at Bethlehem at the time of her delivery (*b*). But the reduction of Judea to the form of a province was not till twelve years after; and then taxes were first paid by its inhabitants, immediately, to the roman state. For though the people of dependent kingdoms paid them to their own princes, and whatever the Romans received, was from them; yet those of the provinces paid them directly to the roman government, or to the officers, which

* Dionysius Exiguus a roman abbot, who lived in the sixth century, and was the author of the Christian Era, fixed it, by mistake, four years after the birth of Christ. See Dupin's history of ecclesiastical writers, cent. 6. p. 42. Dr. Cave's historia literaria, sub anno 533. p. 333. edit. Genev. 1720. and Usserii annales, ætat. mundi vii. ab init. p. 568. edit. Genev. 1722.

(*a*) Luke ii. 2.

(*b*) ver. i,—5.

which the senate appointed to collect and receive them.

The subject we have been upon, naturally leads me to consider a difficulty, which hath occasioned the learned not a little trouble; the reconciling St. Luke's account of the enrollment, or census of the land of Judea with Josephus.

Concerning the census in the time of Augustus.

According to the Jewish historian, Josephus, Cyrenius was not governor of Syria till ten or twelve years after our Saviour's birth, after Archelaus was deposed, and the country brought under a Roman procurator*; whereas St. Luke says, αὕτη ἡ ἀπογραφὴ πρώτη ἐγένετο ἡγεμονεύοντος τῆς Συρίας Κυρηνίου: which we render, "And this taxing was first made, when Cyrenius was governor of Syria (a);" yet this, according to him, was before the death of Herod, the father and predecessor of Archelaus, and in the same year when Christ was born.

Now as, on the one hand, it cannot be supposed, that a writer so accurate as Luke (were he considered only as a common historian,) should make so gross a mistake, as to confound the enrollment in the reign of Herod with that taxation under Cyrenius, which happened many years after; so, on the other hand, it is hard to conceive that Josephus should be mistaken in an affair of so publick a nature, so important
to

* Antiq. lib. xvii. cap. 13. §. 2, 5. & lib. xviii. cap. 1. §. 1. edit. Haverc.

(a) Luke ii. 2.

to his own nation, and so recent when he wrote his history. To remove this difficulty,

1st, Some have supposed a corruption of the original text in Luke; and that, instead of Cyrenius, it ought to be read Saturninus, who, according to Josephus, was prefect of Syria within a year or two before Herod's death.

2dly, Others have thought it probable, that the original name in St. Luke was Quintilius; since Quintilius Varus succeeded Saturninus, and was in the province of Syria when Herod died.

But all the greek manuscripts remonstrate against both these solutions. Therefore

3dly, Mr. Whiston and Dr. Prideaux suppose that the words, "In those days there went out a decree from Cæsar Augustus, that all the world (or as *οικουμενη* may be rendered, the whole land) should be taxed (*a*)," refer to the time of making the census; and the subsequent words, "This taxing was first made, when Cyrenius was governor of Syria (*b*)," to the time of levying the tax. Dr. Prideaux imagines, this will answer all objections*.

4thly, Herwaert and, after him, Dr. Whitby render the text in this manner, "And this taxing was first made, before that made when Cyrenius was governor of Syria†."

5thly, Dr. Lardner has given the easiest and best solution of this Difficulty, rendering the words

(*a*) ver. 1. (*b*) ver. 2.

* Whiston's short view of the harmony of the evangelists, prop. xi. and Prideaux's connect. part ii. book ix. sub anno 5 before the christian era. vol. 4. p. 917,—922. edit. 10.

† Herwaert's nova & vera chronologia, p. 189. and Whitby in loc.

words thus, "This was the first assessment of Cyrenius governor of Syria." Which version he hath supported, by substantial criticism; and likewise rendered it highly probable, that Cyrenius, (afterward governor of Syria, and at the time St. Luke wrote, well known by that title,) was employed in making the first enrollment of the inhabitants of Judea in the reign of Herod*.

Of the publicans.

Judea being now added to the provinces of the roman empire, and the taxes paid by the Jews, directly to the emperor; the Publicans were the officers appointed to collect them.

Now the ordinary taxes, which the Romans levied in the provinces, were of three sorts:

1st, Customs upon goods imported and exported; which tribute was therefore called portorium, from portus, a haven.

2dly, A tax upon cattle, fed in certain pastures belonging to the roman state; the number of which being kept in writing, this tribute was called scriptura.

3dly, A tax upon corn, of which the government demanded a tenth part. This tribute was called decuma.

We read of *φορος* and *τελος*, translated "Tribute and custom (a)." Concerning the precise and distinct meaning of these words the critics are much divided. Grotius makes *φορος* to signify a tax upon lands and persons; and *τελος*, custom upon goods and merchandise. Liptius
by

* See credibility of the gosp. history, part 1. vol. 2; book 2. ch. 1.

(a) Rom. xiii. 7.

by φορος understands a tax upon a real estate; by τέλος, a tax upon moveables and persons. Leigh * supposes φορος to mean duties upon goods; τέλος, a capitation or pole tax. According to Beza, φορος signifies a capitation or pole tax, and τέλος includes all other taxes and duties. Other critics have given still different accounts. So that in the midst of such great uncertainty we must be content with this general observation, that these words together include all taxes and duties, though we are unable to ascertain the precise meaning of either of them, or the difference betwixt them. It being highly probable, that the publick taxes varied from one age to another, I suspect, that in different ages, these words were applied to different taxes and duties; which occasions an uncertainty about the precise idea to be affixed to them. Perhaps τέλος was the more general name, or included the larger number of taxes, at least among the Greeks; which seems probable from the collectors, in their language, being called τελωναι: whereas in the Latin they are stiled publicani, as being collectors of the publick taxes, or revenue of the state.

These Publicans are distinguished by Sigonius, into three sorts or degrees, the farmers of the revenue, their partners, and their securities †; in which he follows Polybius ‡. These
are

* See his critica sacra, in verb.

† Alii conducebant, alii cum hic societatem coibant, alii pro his bona fortunæque reipublicæ obligabant. Sigon. de antiq. jure civium Romanorum, lib. ii. cap. iv.

‡ Οι μὲν γὰρ ἀγοράζουσιν παρὰ τῶν τιμητῶν αὐτοὶ τὰς ἐκδοσεις· οἱ δὲ κοινῶναι τούτοις· οἱ δὲ ἐγγυῶνται τὰς ἐγοραγοτάς· οἱ δὲ τὰν ὑσίας διδοῦσιν περὶ τούτων εἰς τὸ δημοσίον. Alii enim à censoribus locationes per se emunt; alii cum his societatem habent;

are called the Mancipes, Socii and Prædes; who were all under the Quæstores Ærarii, that presided over the finances at Rome. The Mancipes farmed the revenue of large districts or provinces, had the oversight of the inferior publicans, received their accounts and collections, and transmitted them to the Quæstores Ærarii. They often let out their provinces in smaller parcels to the Socii*; so called, because they were admitted to a share in the contract, perhaps for the sake of more easily raising the purchase money; at least, to assist in collecting the tribute. Both the Mancipes and Socii are therefore properly stiled τελωναι, from τελος tributum, and ωνεομαι emo. They were obliged to procure prædes or sureties†, who gave security to the government for the fulfillment of the contract‡. The distribution of Sigonius, therefore, or rather of Polybius, is not quite exact; since there were properly but two sorts of Publicans, the Mancipes and the Socii.

The former are, probably, those whom the Greeks call αρχιτελωναι; of which sort was Zaccheus (a). As they were much superior to the common

bent; alii pro redemptoribus fidem suam interponunt; alii horum nomine bona sua in publicum addicunt. Polyb. histor. lib. vi. tom. 1. p. 646. edit. Gronov. Amstel. 1670.

* We meet frequently in Cicero with the Socii, and the publicanorum societates: orat. pro domo sua, vol 5. §. 28. p. 472. edit. Olivet. and with the principes or magistri societatum, who were the mancipes, orat. pro Planc. vol. 5. §. 9. p. 545. & §. 13. p. 548. & epist. famil. lib. 13. epist. 9. and the Digests mention the Socii vectigalium, lib. 39. tit. 4. leg. 9. §. 4.

† Called Fidejussores in the Digests, ubi supra, leg. 9. ab init.

‡ Præs signifies a surety for money, as vas does a surety in criminal matters.

(a) Luke xix. 2.

common Publicans in dignity, being mostly of the equestrian order; so they were generally in their moral character. They are mentioned with great respect and honour by Cicero; flos, fash he, equitum romanorum, ornamentum civitatis, firmamentum reipublicæ, publicanorum ordine continetur*: He likewise calls them “ordinem mihi commendatissimum†.” But as for the common Publicans, the collectors or receivers, as many of the Socii were, they are spoke of with great contempt, by Heathens as well as Jews; and particularly by Theocritus, who said, that “among the beasts of the wilderness, bears and lions are the most cruel; among the beasts of the city, the Publican and Parasite ‡.” The reason of the general hatred to them was, doubtless, their rapine and extortion. For having a share in the farm of the tribute, at a certain rate, they were apt to oppress the people with illegal exactions, to raise as large a fortune as they could for themselves. Besides, Publicans were particularly odious to the Jews, who looked upon them to be the instruments of their subjection to the roman emperors; to which they generally held it sinful for them to submit. For among the laws in Deuteronomy concerning the kings, there is in particular the following, “One from among thy

* Orat. pro Plancio, apud opera, vol. 5. §. 9. p. 544. edit. Olivet.

† Epist. famil. lib. 13. epist. 10. apud op. vol. 7. p. 442. Vid. etiam epist. 9. per totum, & epist. ad Attic. lib. 1. epist. 17. vol. 8. p. 80.

‡ Vid. Hammond on Matt. ix. 10.

The twelfth law, under the fourth title, in the thirty-first book of the Digests is prefaced with these remarkable words, Quantæ audaciæ, quantæ temeritatis sint publicanorum factiones, nemo est qui nesciat.

thy brethren shalt thou set over thee; thou mayest not set a stranger over thee who is not thy brother (a).” Now paying tribute to the roman emperor they looked upon to be a virtual acknowledgment of his sovereignty. This therefore was a heavy grievance, and created an aversion to the collectors, as the instruments of illegal oppression, apart from all consideration of their rapacious practices. Accordingly, in the New Testament, we find them joined with harlots and heathens, and persons of the most profligate and infamous characters; and it was intended for a severe reproach of our Lord Jesus Christ, when he was said to be “a friend of Publicans and Sinners (b).” Hence that ensnaring question was put to him, with a design “to entangle him in his talk (c),” “Is it lawful to give tribute to Cæsar?” If he had denied it, it would have been judged an offence against the state; and if he had affirmed it, it would probably have exposed him to the rage and resentment of the people. It was on pretence of freeing them from this tributary yoke, that Judas of Galilee, (or as Josephus calls him,) Judas Gaulanites, excited an “Insurrection in the days of the taxing, and drew away much people after him (d).” Of this Josephus gives a particular account*, and saith, that when the census was first extended to Judea by Cyrenius, after Archelaus had been deposed by Augustus, the Jews were greatly chagrined at it; but at the persuasion of Joazar, the high-priest, they generally submitted. Yet, it seems, much against their wills; for when this Judas

VOL. I.

H

excited

(a) Deut. xvii. 15. (b) Luke vii. 34. (c) Matt. xxii. 15, 17. (d) Acts v. 37.

* Antiq. lib. xviii. cap. 1. §. 1. edit. Haverc.

excited the people to rebellion, and to assert their liberty, they heard him, (saith the historian,) “with incredible pleasure,” and made an insurrection on that account, under him as their leader.

Tertullian * imagined, that the Publicans, among the Jews, were all Heathens. Which, not understanding Hebrew, he grounded on a spurious text in the septuagint †. This opinion is confuted by the instances of Matthew and Zaccheus; who both appear to be Jews, by their names, and their history. The latter is expressly said to be a son of Abraham; and as for Matthew, we may be assured, that our Lord, who, at present, was sent to none but the lost sheep of the house of Israel, would not have made an apostle of a Gentile. However, the Jews, who accepted the office of Publicans, were on that account hated of their own nation equally with Heathens, with whom they are sometimes ranked (*a*); and according to the rabbies, it was a maxim, “A religious man, who becomes a Publican, is to be driven out of the society of religion ‡.”

* De pudicitia, §. ix. p. 561. C. edit. Rigalt.

† Deut. xxiii. 18. in the Greek. The words are, *ἐκ εἰς τελεσφορῶν ἀπο θυγατέρων Ἰσραὴλ, καὶ ἐκ εἰς τελεσφορῶν ἀπο υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ*. They were probably at first a gloss in the margin, or inserted in the text of the seventy from some other version; and are strangely misunderstood by Tertullian, who supposes *τελεσφορῶν* to signify in this place, a Publican or tax gatherer, which it most commonly does; but here it means a prostitute for hire, such as in the pagan mysteries raised contributions by their lewdness. See Grotius and Le Clerc in loc.

(*a*) Matt. xviii. 17.

‡ See Lightfoot, *Horæ Heb. on Matt. xviii. 17.*



C H A P. III.

ISRAELITES and PROSELYTES.

GODWIN distinguishes the people of Israel into two sorts, Hebrews and Proselytes. We may properly advance a step higher, and divide the whole world, after the commonwealth of Israel had been formed, into Jews and Gentiles.

The Jews, or Israelites, were those members of the hebrew republic who worshiped the one true God according to the mosaic ritual; all others they called גוים goim, Gentiles, and אומם ummim, the people, meaning, of the world (*a*). In the New Testament they are stilled Ελληνες Greeks (*b*). When Greeks are opposed to barbarians*, the term signifies, the learned, as distinguished from the illiterate, part of mankind; the Greeks in those days being looked

H 2

upon

(*a*) Psal. ii. 1. (*b*) Rom. i. 16. and chap. ii. 9, 10.

* As by St. Paul, Rom. i. 14. and by heathen authors: ἀντικείμεται γὰρ τῷ Ἕλλητι ὁ Βαρβαρὸς, "The barbarian is opposed to the Greek." Thucyd. lib. i. §. 3. Schol. 5. p. 3. edit. Hudf. Oxon. 1696. διχα διαίρωντας ἀπαν τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων πλῆθος εἰς τὴν ἑλληνικὴν καὶ βαρβαρικὴν, "dividing the whole world into Greeks and barbarians." Strab. lib. 2. p. 45. edit. Casaub. Paris 1620.

upon as people of the most erudition, or at least their language being esteemed the most improved and polite. But when Greeks are opposed to Jews, they include the whole heathen world, of which the Greeks were the most considerable. Some have imagined, that the triple distinction which St. Paul makes (*a*), “there is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond or free, there is neither male nor female;” refers to a form of thanksgiving, which the Jews are said to have repeated in their daily prayers; wherein they gave thanks to God for these three things,—that he had made them Jews, and not Gentiles:—that he had made them free, and not bond-men, or slaves:—that he had made them men, and not women. Instead of the third article, the women thanked God, that he had made them as it pleased him. If this form was indeed as ancient as the time of the apostle, it may naturally be supposed that he referred to it in this passage, where he is showing that the peculiar prerogatives and privileges, which the Jews enjoyed under the Old Testament, were by the gospel equally extended to the Gentiles; and that all who believe in Christ, without regard to their nation, worldly condition or sex, are admitted into his church, and made partakers of his salvation.

We now come to consider the distinction of the members of the commonwealth of Israel, into Hebrews and Proselytes.

1st, As to the Hebrews: ——— The learned are divided concerning the derivation and meaning of this word, which so often occurs both
in

(*a*) Gal. iii. 28;

in the Old and New Testament. We find it first applied to Abraham (*a*); and in a multitude of places to his posterity, to distinguish them from all other people; particularly, from the Egyptians (*b*), and the Philistines (*c*).

The more common opinion concerning its meaning, maintained by the Jewish rabbies, and espoused by Buxtorff the son *, is,

1st, That it is *Appellatio patronymica*, a family name, from Eber, who was the great grandson of Shem, and Abraham's great, great, great, great grandfather; that is, he was a lineal descendant from Eber in the seventh generation†.

Two queries will naturally be started upon this opinion:

1st, Why Abraham and his posterity should take their name from so remote a progenitor, as Eber? or if from a remote one, why not from Shem, the first father and founder of the family after Noah?

2dly, Why this appellation should be given to Abraham and his family, rather than to any other of Eber's posterity?

In answer to the first query, the rabbies tell us, that Eber was a man of singular piety, that the primitive religion and language were preserved by him and his family; and that Abraham and his posterity are called Hebrews, because they spoke the same language, and professed and practised the same religion that Eber did.

H 3

But

(*a*) Gen. xiv. 13.

(*b*) Gen. xliii. 32.

(*c*) 1 Sam. iv. 9.

* See his dissert. de linguæ hebraicæ conservatione, apud dissertationes philolog. theolog. p. 147. Basil. 1662.

† See the genealogy of Abraham's family, Gen. xi. 10, &c.

But this reason seems to have its principal foundation in the national pride of the Jews, who would have us believe, that their language was spoke in paradise, and their ancestors peculiarly favoured of God above all other people, even long before the call of Abraham. But Le Clerc has rendered it highly probable, that the Hebrew was the language of the Canaanites, and that Abraham, whose original tongue was the Chaldee, (for he came out of Ur of the Chaldees (*a*)) learnt it, as Isaac and Jacob and their families did, by dwelling in the land of Canaan *. However that be, it remains to be proved, that the hebrew language is the same which Eber spoke. What they say of his singular piety, is gratis dictum; and their account of the true religion being preserved in his family down to Abraham's time, by no means agrees with Joshua's saying, that the ancestors of the Israelites, who in old time dwelt "on the other side of the flood," even Terah "the father of Abraham, served other gods (*b*)."

The second query is, Why the name Hebrew should be given to Abraham and his family, rather than to any other of Eber's posterity? for Eber had other sons and daughters, besides Peleg, his son in the line of Abraham (*c*).

The common reply is, because the blessings of the covenant of grace were limited to that line of Eber's posterity, which reached down to Abraham. On this account, as it is supposed, Shem is called "the father of the children of Eber;" and not so much, because he

was

(*a*) Gen. xv. 7.

* See his Prolegom. to the Pentateuch, Diff. 1.

(*b*) Josh. xxiv. 2.

(*c*) Gen. xi. 17.

was their natural progenitor; which he was, likewise, of many other families and nations. And as the posterity of Isaac and Jacob, and not that of Ishmael and Esau, are called the children of Abraham, so the posterity of Eber are the children of Shem *κατ' ἐξοχην*.

Still the idolatry of Abram's nearer progenitors may be urged as an objection, and it is reasonable to ask, whether the blessings of the covenant were continued to those fathers or ancestors of Abraham, who served other gods? Indeed, that they were limited to Shem's posterity in the line of Eber, before the calling of Abraham, is *gratis dictum*. This opinion also of the rabbies favours too much of the before-mentioned pride. But,

2dly, There is another opinion concerning this appellation as applied to Abraham and his posterity, which hath a greater appearance of probability: that it comes from the preposition *עבר* gnebher, trans; from whence those that lived beyond, or to the East, of the river Euphrates, were called by the Canaanites and others who lived on the West, *עברים* gnibhrim. Thus Abraham's family, before his call into Canaan, is said to have dwelt *בעבר הנהר* bengnebher hannahar, trans fluvium (a); meaning beyond the river Euphrates; which being the greatest river in that part of the world, or that was known to the ancient inhabitants of the adjacent countries, they used to call it "the river" *κατ' ἐξοχην*. And the people, who lived East or West of it, stiled those on the other side, "the people beyond the river," that is, Trans-Euphratenfes. Thus the enemies of the

H 4

Jews,

(a) Josh. xxiv. 2.

Jews, who wrote from Judea to king Artaxerxes in Babylon, stiled themselves “thy servants on this side of the river(*a*); and the king in his answer directs to them “beyond the river(*b*).” In the chaldee, indeed, the phrase is the same in both places עבר נהרה gnabhar naharah, trans fluvium; and elsewhere we meet with this expression, Hadarezer “brought out the Assyrians that were beyond the river(*c*).” Now it is according to this phraseology, so common in scripture, that Le Clerc understands the account we have, that “Shem was the father of all the children of Eber(*d*),” that is of all the people, who dwelt East of the Euphrates; translating בני עבר col bene gnebher, omnes qui trans fluvium degunt. He takes בני עבר bene gnebher, to be a Hebraism, denoting the inhabitants of the country beyond the Euphrates. So the sense of the text is, that all this eastern part of the world was peopled by Shem’s posterity.

It is supposed that the Canaanites called Abraham in their language, the Hebrew, because he came בעבר bengnebher, from beyond the river. Thus Josephus says, that Niger, the president of Idumea, was called Περαττης, because γενος εν εκ της περι Ιορδανου περατας, quod a trans-jordanensi regione oriundus esset*. And hence the posterity of Abraham acquired the appellation of עברים gnibhrim, or Hebrews.

It is evident the seventy understood the word in this sense, for they translate Abraham the Hebrew(*e*), Abraham περατης, transitor. Thus,
among

(*a*) Ezra iv. 11.

(*b*) ver. 17.

(*c*) 2 Sam. x. 16.

(*d*) Gen. x. 21.

* De bello Jud. lib. ii. cap. xx. §. 4. edit. Haverc.

(*e*) Gen. xiv. 13.

among the ancients, Theodoret *, and Jerom †, as well as some others ‡; and among the moderns, Grotius and Le Clerc understand the word Hebrew.

On the whole, according to this opinion, Hebrew signifies much the same as foreigner, among us; or one that comes from beyond sea. Such were Abraham and his family among the Canaanites; and his posterity, learning and using the language of the country, still retained the appellation originally given them, even when they became possessors and settled inhabitants. In which circumstance the church of Israel was, in some sort, a type of that larger church of the Gentiles, which was to be called and gathered to Christ, and “to forget her own people and her father’s house (a);” as Abraham’s family, being called out of an idolatrous nation, no longer retained the name of the people from whence they sprung, but were afterwards called Hebrews, or foreigners.

It is further very probable, that the Israelites being called גֵּרִים Gerim, strangers in David’s time (b), might refer to their father’s having come into the country over the גַּר gar, alveus, that is, the Euphrates.

It is however objected to this opinion,

1st, That according to this sense of the word, the posterity of Ishmael, and Esau, might as well have been called Hebrews, as the posterity of Isaac and Jacob; they being equally the
posterity

* In Gen. quest. 60.

† In Iesai. xix 18.

‡ See Buxtorfii Dissert. Philolog. theolog. dissert. iii.

p. 141, 142.

(a) Psal. xlv. 10.

(b) 1 Chron. xxix. 15.

posterity of Abraham the foreigner, who came בעבר bengnebher, from beyond the river.

To this it may be replied, that very probably, they were called Hebrews, while they continued in Abraham's family ; but afterward, when they separated themselves from it, and were incorporated into the Canaanitish and other nations by intermarriage, they were no longer looked upon as foreigners, and so lost that name. Besides, there were personal reasons for Abraham and Isaac and Jacob being called Hebrews, which did not affect either Ishmael or Esau. Abraham was born beyond the river, where he past the younger part of his life. Isaac would not marry a Canaanite, but went beyond the river for a wife. Jacob did the same, and dwelt there for upwards of twenty years ; and there all his children, except one, were born. But none of these reasons held for continuing the same appellation to Ishmael and Esau, and their posterity.

2dly, It is objected, that the word Hebrew is a name or title of honour. As such St. Paul uses it (a) : " Are they Hebrews ? so am I." And can we suppose, that Jews would glory in being foreigners, and in their ancestors coming out of an idolatrous country ?

To this it may be answered, that names are often used in a good, or bad sense, very different from the import of their derivation. The word knave hath now a very bad meaning, though it is derived from gnavus, diligent or active ; and though formerly it signified a servant, in whom diligence is a very good quality. Who, when he glories in being an Englishman,

(a) 2 Cor. xi 22.

lishman, considereth the derivation, and original signification, of the word, English? Besides, it was really an honour to the Jews, that God was pleased to call Abraham, the father and founder of their nation, out of an idolatrous country, in which he had been born and educated; and to separate him and his posterity from all other nations, to be his peculiar people, and visible church.

A further reason of St. Paul's glorying in his being an Hebrew; and consequently a further answer to this objection, will be shortly produced.

3dly, Another objection against the second, and in favour of the first opinion, is taken from Balaam's prophecy: "And ships shall come from the coast of Chittim, and shall afflict Ashur, and shall afflict Eber (a);" two branches of Shem's family (b). Now if it be admitted, that the Assyrians were called by the name of Ashur, because he was their primogenitor; can it be reasonably denied, or doubted, that the Jews are called Hebrews from Eber?

I reply, If by Eber be, in this place, meant the Jews, this argument will have considerable weight. But if the prophecy refers to Alexander's conquest, which Grotius says, is very plain, *quod nemo non videt*; then Eber cannot here mean the people of Israel, since they were not afflicted by Alexander, as other nations were; but remarkably and miraculously preserved from his ravages. If therefore we take the word Eber to come from עִבְרִי gnebher, trans, it must here mean, as Grotius and Le Clerc understand it,

(a) Numb. xxiv. 24.

(b) Gen. x. 22, 24.

it, the other nations, (as well as the Assyrians,) that lay East of the river Euphrates.

Thus much for the derivation and import of the word, Hebrew.

There is a very remarkable appellation which the apostle Paul, after glorying in his being “ of the stock of Israel, and of the tribe of Benjamin,” applies to himself; namely, that he was an “ Hebrew of the Hebrews (*a*).” By this expression Godwin understands, an Hebrew both by father’s and mother’s side. But if this be all that the phrase imports, there seems to be very little occasion for the apostle’s using it immediately after having declared, that he was “ of the stock of Israel, and the tribe of Benjamin;” which on Godwin’s supposition, is the same as an Hebrew of the Hebrews; for the Jews were not allowed to marry out of their own nation: or if they sometimes married proselytes, yet their number was comparatively so small among them, especially while they were under oppression, as they were at that time by the Romans; that methinks, Paul would hardly have mentioned it as a distinguishing privilege and honour, that neither of his parents were proselytes. It is therefore a much more probable sense, that a Hebrew of the Hebrews signifies a Hebrew both by nation and language, which multitudes of Abraham’s posterity, in those days, were not; or one of the Hebrew Jews who performed their publick worship in the Hebrew tongue; for such were reckoned more honourable than the hellenistic Jews, who in their dispersion having, in a manner, lost the Hebrew, used the Greek language in sacris,
and

(*a*) Phil. iii. 5.

and read the scripture out of the septuagint version. We meet with this distinction amongst the converted Jews, in the acts of the apostles: “In those days, when the number of the disciples was multiplied, there arose a murmuring of the Grecians or Hellenists against the Hebrews (*a*).” This is what St. Paul probably meant by his being a Hebrew, as distinguished from an Israelite (*b*): Are they Hebrews? So am I. Are they Israelites? So am I. In one sense, these were convertible terms, both signifying Jews by nation and religion; but in the sense just mentioned, there were many, in those days, who were Israelites, but not Hebrews. St. Paul was both; not only an Israelite by birth, but a Hebrew, and not an hellenistic Jew.

Godwin expresses himself inaccurately, when he saith, that those who lived in Palestine, and who, as using the hebrew text in their publick worship, were opposed to the ΕΛΛΗΝΙΣΤΑΙ, are called Hebrews, or JEWS. For, though Hebrew and Jew are convertible terms, when opposed to Gentiles, as denoting the seed of Abraham, and professors of the mosaic religion (*c*); yet as opposed to the ΕΛΛΗΝΙΣΤΑΙ, they are not convertible terms, there being Hebrew Jews and hellenistic Jews; for it is said, that when “they, who were scattered by the persecution that arose about Stephen, travelled into several countries, preaching the word to none but Jews only;” yet they spoke πρὸς τοὺς ΕΛΛΗΝΙΣΤΑΣ, to the Hellenists or Grecians (*d*) †.

In

(*a*) Acts vi. 1.(*b*) 2 Cor. xi. 22.(*c*) See Jer. xxxiv. 9.(*d*) Acts xi. 19, 20.

† In the strictest sense this appellation יהודים *Jehudim*, *Jedzims*, or Jews belongs only to the posterity and tribe of Judah.

In order to confirm the sense which I have given of the word *Ελληνισαι*, in opposition to the appellation, Hebrews, it is proper we should take notice of the distinction between the *Ελληνες* and *Ελληνισαι*. The former were Greeks by nation, and as such distinguished from Jews (*c*); and the greek empire having been rendred by Alexander, in a manner universal, and their language being then the most common and general, the appellation Greeks is sometimes given to the whole heathen world, or to all who were not Jews (*d*).

These Greeks, called *Ελληνικοι* by Josephus, are always stilled *Ελληνες* in the New Testament. On which account Grotius, understanding by the *Ελληνισαι*, or “Grecians, to whom some of these who were dispersed on the persecution which arose about Stephen, preached the Lord Jesus

Judah. Hebrews in the full extent of the word, were the posterity of Abraham, the Hebrew; Israelites, the posterity of Jacob, or Israel; and Jews, the posterity of Judah, one of the sons of Israel. But after the division of Abraham’s and Israel’s posterity into two kingdoms, under Rehoboam and Jeroboam, the one was called the kingdom of Judah, because the tribe of Judah had the greater part of it, and also because the kings were of that tribe; the other, consisting of ten tribes, was called the kingdom of Israel. From hence arose a distinction betwixt Jews and Israelites. Thus, by the Jews which the king of Assyria drove from Elath (*a*), are meant the subjects of the kingdom of Judah; for to that kingdom Elath had been restored by Azariah, some years before (*b*). But as the ten tribes were afterwards, in a manner, lost in the Assyrian captivity, (as hath been shown before,) and the kingdom of Judah only continued through succeeding ages a body politic, the name Jews came to be applied indifferently, to all Hebrews and Israelites.

(*a*) 2 Kings xvi. 6.

(*b*) chap. xiv. 22.

(*c*) Acts xvi. 1. xix. 10.

(*d*) Rom. i. 16. ii. 9.

Jesus (*a*)," Greeks by nation, concludes there is a mistake in the text, and alters it according to the syriac and vulgate versions: certe legendum, saith he, *προς τας Ελληνας*. So indeed the alexandrian manuscript reads; but is supported by no other copy. And which, I think, is decisive against it, it is evident from the words immediately preceding, that these Grecians were by nation Jews, and not Greeks; it being expressly said, that those who were scattered on the persecution, "preached the gospel to the Jews only." As for the *Ελληνες* or Greeks, mentioned in St. John's gospel (*b*), as being come to Jerusalem at the passover to worship in the temple; and likewise those mentioned in the Acts, as worshipping along with the Jews in their synagogues (*c*), they were doubtless Greeks by birth and nation, yet proselytes to the jewish religion. There is a distinction made betwixt Jews and Proselytes (*d*), but none betwixt Hebrews and Proselytes; because a Proselyte might be either an Hebrew, or an Hellenist, according to the language in which he performed publick worship.

That the Hellenists, or Grecians, were Jews, is further argued from the account we have (*e*), that when at Jerusalem, St. Paul "disputed against the Grecians, they went about to slay him;" as the Jews at Damascus had done before (*f*). Now had these Grecians been strangers of a different nation, it cannot be imagined they durst have attempted to kill a Jew, among his own countrymen, in the capital, and without

(*a*) Acts xi. 19, 20. (*b*) John xii. 20. (*c*) Acts xiv.
1. xviii. 4. (*d*) Acts ii. 10. (*e*) chap. ix. 29.
(*f*) ver. 23.

112 Greek of the New Testament. B. I.
without a formal accusation of him before any
of their tribunals?

Upon the whole, the ΕΛΛΗΝΙΣΤΑΙ, or Grecians, being Jews who used the Greek tongue in their sacred exercises, the Hebrew Jews, and Grecian Jews, were distinguished in those days, in like manner as the Portuguese and Dutch Jews are among us, not so much by the place of their birth, (many being born in England, others abroad) as by the language they use in their public prayers and sermons.

I have already observed, that the language, which the Grecians used in sacris, was that of the septuagint; which is likewise the language of the New Testament. It hath been, therefore, by some called the hellenistic tongue, to distinguish it from pure Greek; while others, rejecting the distinction, assert the purity of the New Testament Greek. A considerable dispute hath hereupon arisen in the learned world; with which it is proper we should not be unacquainted.

Concerning the language of the New Testament.

Scaliger, observing that the phraseology in the New Testament agrees with that of the septuagint, calls it the hellenistic dialect. Heinfius imagined it to be a language different from the pure Greek, as the Italian is from the Latin, and peculiar to the Hellenists; a people, he supposes, who dwelt in Asia, and in several of those eastern parts. He was opposed by
Salmasius

Salmasius *. Phochenius, also, engaged in this controversy, and maintained the purity of the New Testament Greek. To him Gataker replied in his piece de stylo novi Testamenti.

The common opinion is, that the Greek of the New Testament is neither pure, nor a new language; but may properly be called the hellenistic dialect; inasmuch as the words are sometimes used in a different sense, and different construction, from what they are in other authors. There is, also, a mixture of Latin, Persic, and Syro chaldaic words, besides Solecisms and Hebraisms.

1st, The following latin words are mentioned; *κοδραντης*, quadrans (*a*); *κηνσος*, census (*b*); *δηναριον*, denarius (*c*); *λεγεων*, legio (*d*); *πραιτωριον*, prætorium (*e*); *κυσωδια*, custodia (*f*); *σπιεκ λατωρ*, spiculator (*g*); *κεντυριων*, centurio (*h*); *κολωνια*, colonia (*i*); *σεδαριον*, fudarium (*k*); *μακελλον*, macellum (*l*); *μεμβρανα*, membrana (*m*).

Instances of latin phrases are *συμβουλιον λαβειν*, concilium capere (*n*); *εργασιαν δειναι*, operam dare (*o*). Besides Latin there are

2dly, Persic words; as *μαγοι*, magi (*p*); *γαζα*, thesaurus (*q*), (the proper greek word is *θησαυρος*)

VOL. I.

I

905)

* Hebræus nomen gentis est, saith Salmasius, Hellenistes Dialecti. Hoc convenit omnibus hominibus græcè scientibus & loquentibus, quia gentem non denotat, sed omnem hominem *ελληνιζοντα*. De linguâ hellenistica comment. p. 191. edit. Lugd. Bat. 1643. in support of which piece he published the same year his *Fusus linguæ hellenisticæ*, against Heinsius's *Exercitatus de Hellenitis & ling. hellenist.*

(*a*) Matt. v. 26. (*b*) chap. xvii. 25. (*c*) chap. xviii. 28. (*d*) chap. xxvi. 53. (*e*) chap. xxvii. 27. (*f*) ver. 65. (*g*) Mark vi. 27. (*h*) chap. xv. 39. (*i*) Acts xvi. 12. (*k*) chap. xix. 12. (*l*) 1 Cor. x. 25. (*m*) 2 Tim. iv. 13. (*n*) Matt. xii. 14. (*o*) Luke xii. 58. (*p*) Matt. ii. 1. (*q*) Acts viii. 27.

ρος); and likewise γαζοφυλακιον (*a*). There are also,

3dly, Syro-chaldaic words; as Αββα (*b*), Αγγελ-
δαμα (*c*), βηθεισδα (*d*), Ερφαδα (*e*), Γολγοθα (*f*),
κορβαν (*g*), ρακα (*h*): and whole sentences; as
Ελωι, Ελωι, λαμμα σαβαχθανι (*i*): μαρναν αδα (*k*):
Ταλιθα, κumi (*l*).

Various instances of solecisms are alledged; as, η καινη διαθηκη εν τω αιματι μου, το υπερ υμων εκχυνομενον, for εκχυνομενω, which it should be in regular construction with τω αιματι (*m*). And the following, απο Ιησου Χριστου, ο μαρτυς, ο πιστος—τω αγαπησαντι ημας—και εποιησεν ημας, &c. (*n*). Again, ο νικων, δωσω αυτω, &c. (*o*). In like manner, ο νικων, ποιησω αυτον συλον, &c. (*p*). And also την δοξαν αυτου,—πληρης χαριτος, &c. (*q*).

Several methods have been taken to make out the grammatical construction of these passages. But the attempt is needless; Gataker* having shown, that such solecisms are common in the purest greek writers. And indeed, they are often looked upon as beauties, rather than blemishes.

Hebraisms are observed in abundance, and that both in words and phrases, in construction and in figures.

In the first place, hebraisms in single words are of three sorts:—such as are properly of a hebrew extract:—such as are indeed of a greek extract, but used in a different sense from what they

- (*a*) John viii. 20. (*b*) Mark xiv. 36. (*c*) Acts i. 19.
(*d*) John v. 2. (*e*) Mark vii. 34. (*f*) Matt. xxvii.
33. (*g*) Mark vii. 11. (*h*) Matt. v. 22. (*i*) Mark
xv. 34. (*k*) 1 Cor. xvi. 22. (*l*) Mark. v. 41.
(*m*) Luke xxii. 20. (*n*) Rev. i. 5, 6. (*o*) chap iii. 21.
(*p*) ver. 12. (*q*) John i. 14.

* Annot. in Marc. Antonin. lib. iii. §. 4.

they are in other authors, and in a manner conformable to the Hebrew:—And words, new coined, to translate hebrew words by.

1st, There are words of an hebrew extract, which have either a greek termination, as *Μεσσίας* (*a*), *Σατανας* (*b*), *Σικερα* (*c*), potus inebrians, from *שכר* shechar : or others, which retain the hebrew termination, as *Αλληλεια* (*d*), *σαβαωθ* (*e*), *Αβραδων* (*f*).

2dly, There are greek words, used in a different sense from what they are in other authors, and in a manner conformable to the Hebrew; as *βιβλος* for a catalogue, like *ספר* sepher; *βιβλος γενεσεως Ιησου Χριστου* (*g*), *ספר תולדת אדם* sepher toledhoth Adam (*h*). *Εις, μια, εν*, is always a cardinal, except in the New Testament; where it is frequently an ordinal, like *Αחד* achedh, in Hebrew; as, *της μιας σαββατων* (*i*), primo die hebdomadis, or *πρωτη σαββατε*, as it is presently after explained (*k*):—*Κατα μιαν σαββατων* (*l*): Like *באחד לחדש* beechadh lachodesh, the first day of the month.—*ρημα* in Greek signifies a word, but in the New Testament it sometimes signifies a thing; like *דבר* dhabhar; *οτι εκ αδυνατησει παρα τω Θεω παν ρημα* (*m*).—*Αποκρινομαι* signifies properly, to answer when another hath already spoken; but in the New Testament it is used for taking occasion to speak, without having been spoken to; like *ענה* gnanah in Hebrew; *και αποκριθεις ο Ιησους ειπεν αυτη*, nempe *συκη' Μικετι εκ σε εις τον αιωνα υδεις καρπον φαρσι*. And Jesus answering

I 2

said

(*a*) John i. 42. (*b*) Matt. iv. 10. (*c*) Luke i. 15.
 (*d*) Rev. xix. 1. (*e*) Rom. ix. 29. (*f*) Rev. ix. 11.
 (*g*) Matt. i. 1. (*h*) Gen. v. 1. (*i*) Mark xvi. 2.
 (*k*) ver. 9. (*l*) 1 Cor. xvi. 2. (*m*) Luke i. 37.

said to the fig-tree, &c (*a*).—*Εξομολογεῖν* strictly means, to confess; but in the New Testament, to thank or praise; which is evidently a translation of the hebrew word הודח *hodhah*, in Hiphil, from ידח *jadhah*; and at that time Jesus answered and said, *Εξομολογέμαι σοι, πατερ, κυrie τε κρανε και της γης, οτι απεκρυψας ταυτα, &c.*—*Περαν* signifies, trans; as beyond, or on the other side of a river; but in the New Testament it is used for “near to” without determining on which side. Thus we read of the land of Zabulon, and the land of Naphthali, by the way of the sea, *περαν τε Ιορδανου*, Galilee, of the Gentiles (*b*), that is near or about Jordan; for neither Zebulon, nor Naphthali, nor Galilee of the Gentiles were beyond, (as our translators have expressed it,) but near Jordan. *Περαν*, then, is a translation of עבר *gnebher*, which signifies “near to,” on either side as well as “beyond.” Thus Moses is said to have stood ה'ררן בעבר *bengnebher hajjarden* (*c*); that is, near Jordan, for he never went over it into Canaan (*d*). There are

3dly, Some words new coined, to translate hebrew words by; as *αναδεματιζω*, for חרם *charam*; *ο δε ηρξατο αναδεματιζειν και ομνυειν οτι εκ οιδα τον ανθρωπον, &c* (*e*).—*Σπλαγχνιζομαι*, a word formed to translate רחם *racham*, *dilexit*: *ο δε Ιησους—ειπε, σπλαγχνιζομαι επι τον οχλον, οτι ηδη ημερας τρεις προσμενους μοι, και εκ εχους τι φαγωσι* (*f*).—*Χαριτω*, to translate חנן *chanan*, *gratiosus fuit*: *Ο αγγελος προς αυτην ειπε, Χαιρε, κεχαριτωμενη* (*g*).

Secondly, Hebraisms in phrases are either.

1st,

- | | | |
|----------------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| (a) Mark xi. 14. | (b) Matt. iv. 15. | (c) Deut. i. 1. |
| (d) Deut. xxxii. 52. | (e) Mark xiv. 71. | (f) Matt. |
| xxv. 32. | (g) Luke i. 28. | |

C. III. New Testament Greek. 117

1st, Such as have not been used by other greek authors ; as, seeing of life and death for living and dying : Πισει Ενωχ μετετεθη τε μη ιδειν θανατον (a) In like manner the Hebrew, ולא יראה-מות velo jireh-maveth (b). Again, εξελθυσσοντας εκ της σφυρας Αβρααμ is analogous to the following expression, “ all the souls that came with Jacob into Egypt, יצא ירכו jotsfe jerecho, who came out of his loins, &c (c).” Or

2dly, Such as have not been used by other greek writers in the same sense as in the New Testament ; as, to hear the voice of a person signifies, to obey : Πας ο ων εκ της αληθειας, ακουει με της φωνης (d), parallel with כי שמעת לקול ישחק chi shemangta lekol ishteka (e).—To eat bread signifies to sit down to a meal ; ου γαρ νιπτονται τας χειρας αυτων, οταν αρτον εδωσιν (f), which is an expression parallel to this, “ And they made ready the present against Joseph came at noon ; for they heard, כי שמעו יאכלו לחם chi sham jochelu lachem, that they should eat bread there (g).”

There are also Pleonasms in the Greek Testament ; such as do not occur in other greek authors. As, Επαρας εν ο Ιησους τας οφθαλμους και δεασαμενος οτι πολυς, &c. “ when Jesus then lift up his eyes and saw a great company, &c (b).” parallel to this in the Hebrew, וישא אברהם את-עיניו וירא vajjissa Abraham eth-gneinaiv vajjare ; and Abraham lift up his eyes and saw the place, &c (i). Again, Ομοθυμαδον ηραν φωνην προς τον Θεον, και ειπον, “ they lift up their voice

I 3

to

(a) Heb. xi. 5. (b) Psal. lxxxix. 49. heb. 48. engl.
(c) Gen. xlv. 25. heb. 26. engl. (d) John xviii. 37.
(e) Gen. iii. 17. (f) Matt xv. 2. (g) Gen. xliii.
24. heb. 25. engl. (h) John vi. 5. (i) Gen. xxii. 4.

to God with one accord, and said (a) : like the following in the Hebrew, “ And when they told it to Jotham, he went and stood in the top of mount Gerizim, and lift up his voice, and cried and said unto them, וישא קולו ויקרא ויאמר, vajjissa kolo vajjikra vajjomer (b).” Again, Εκτεινας την χειρα ηψατο αυτου ο Ιησους, “ Jesus put forth his hand and touched him, &c (c).” Like that expression concerning Noah, וישלח ידו ויקחה ויבא vajjishlach jadho vajjakkacheha vajjabhee; “ and he put forth his hand, and took her (the dove,) and pulled her in unto him into the ark (d).

Thirdly, There are constructions in the New Testament, which are said to be hebraisms: As,

1st, The feminine gender for the neuter : Διδον ον απεδουκίμασαν οι οικουσμενοι, αυτος εγεννηθη εις κεφαλην γωνιας παρα Κυριου εγενετο αυτη, και εσι δαυμαση, &c (e). היתה לראש פנה מאת יהוה hajethah leroth pinnah, mèeth Jehovah hajethah zoth hi niphloth, &c (f). In like manner, אחת שאלתי מאת יהוה אותה achath shaalti mèeth Jehovah othah abakkesh (g). Some, indeed, make κεφαλην to be the antecedent to αυτη (פנה pinnah to היא hi), and not the whole proceeding sentence; and they render the clause, παρα Κυριου εγενετο αυτη, à Domino constitutus est ille angularis; agreeable to the sense of εγενετο in this passage, Το σαββατον δια τον ανθρωπον εγενετο (h).

2dly, A noun repeated twice, to express a distribution into several parts; as “ He commanded them all to sit down, συμπασια συμπασια, by

(a) Acts iv. 24.

(b) Judg. ix. 7.

(c) Matt. viii. 3.

(d) Gen. viii. 9.

(e) Matt. xxi. 42.

(f) Psal. cxviii.

23.

(g) Psal. xxvii. 4.

(h) Mark ii. 27.

by companies,—and they sat, *πρᾶσιαι πρᾶσιαι*, in ranks (*a*):” like this hebrew expression, “He delivered them into the hands of his servants, עַרְר עַרְר gnèther gnèther, every drove, by themselves (*b*). Again, “He called unto him the twelve, and began to send them forth, δύο δύο, by two and two (*c*);” like the following hebrew phrase, “of every clean beast thou shalt take to thee, שבעה שבעה shibhngnah shibhngnah, by sevens (*d*).” The regular expression is *ἀνα δύο*, as it is in the parallel place (*e*).

3dly, The superlative degree expressed by the addition of *Θεος*: “In which time Moses was born, and was *αὑτῷ τῷ Θεῷ*, exceeding fair (*f*). Thus, in Hebrew, it is said, “Ninevah was, עִיר-גְּדוֹלָה לְאֱלֹהִים gnir gadholah Lelohim, an exceeding great city (*g*).”

4thly, Some verbs are said to be used with different constructions from what they are in other greek authors; as, *προσκυνεω* with a dative case: *λεπρος ἐλθὼν προσκυνεῖ αὐτῷ* (*h*). Again, *καὶ προσεκύνησαν αὐτῷ* (*i*): whereas in other authors it governs an accusative.—So also *εἶναι εἰς τι*, for *εἶναι τι*, is said to be an Hebraism: “For this cause shall a man leave father and mother, and cleave to his wife, *καὶ ἑσονται οἱ δύο εἰς σὰρκα μίαν* (*k*).” “Unto them who be disobedient, the stone which the builders disallowed, *ὅτις ἐγενήθη εἰς κεφαλὴν γωνίας* (*l*). Thus in Hebrew, “God is the Lord, and he hath enlightened us,” *וַיַּאֲרֵךְ לָנוּ* *vajjaer lanu* (*m*).”

I 4

Fourthly,

- | | |
|-----------------------|---------------------|
| (a) Mark vi. 39, 40. | (b) Gen. xxxii. 16, |
| (c) Mark vi. 7. | (d) Gen. vii. 2. |
| (f) Acts vii. 20. | (g) Jonah iii. 3. |
| (i) John ix. 38. | (h) Matt. xix. 5. |
| (m) Psal. cxviii. 27. | (l) 1 Pet. ii. 7. |
| | (e) Luke x. 1. |
| | (b) Matt. viii. 2. |

Fourthly, There are hebrew figures observed in the New Testament; as

1st, Enallage of the case, person, number, and gender.—Enallage of the case, *ὁ νικῶν, δώσω αὐτῷ, &c. (a).*—*ὁ νικῶν, ποιήσω αὐτὸν (b).*—*Ἐλάλησε πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας ἡμῶν, τῷ Ἀβραάμ, καὶ τῷ πνεύματι αὐτοῦ (c).*—*Πάν ῥημα ἔργον, ἀποδώσουσι περὶ αὐτοῦ λόγον (d).*—*Λιθὸν, οὐκ ἀπεδοκίμασαν, ἕτος ἐγενήθη, &c. (e).*—*Ὁ γὰρ Μωσὴς ἕτος—ἐκ οὐδαμὲν τι γέγονεν αὐτῷ (f).* See the like kind of expression in the Hebrew, *הָאֵל, תָּמִים דָּרְכוּ, Hael, tamim darco (g).*

Enallage of the person: “*O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, thou that killest the prophets, and stonest them that are sent πρὸς αὐτήν, how often would I have gathered τὰ τέκνα σε (h).*” Thus in the Hebrew, “*I was wroth with my people, קָצַפְתִּי עַל-עַמִּי katsaphti gñal gñammi, &c. thou didst show them no mercy, לֹא שָׁמַח לָהֶם, לא שמת להם lo-samti lahem rachamim (i).*”

Enallage of number: “*At that times Jesus went τοῖς σαββάσι διὰ τῶν σποριμῶν (k).* And

Of gender: “*Not holding τὴ κεφαλὴν, ἐξ ἅ τῃς τοῦ σώματος ὁμοιοῦσιν, &c. (l).*

2dly, Pleonasm is said to be borrowed from the Hebrew. I have mentioned some already, and shall add the following: “*That the residue of men might seek after the Lord, and all the Gentiles ἐφ’ ὧς ἐπικεκλήσεται τὸ ὄνομα μου ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς (m).*” Thus in the Hebrew, “*Every place, אֲשֶׁר תִּדְרֹךְ כָּף-רַגְלֶכֶם בּוֹ asher tidhrok caph-raglechem bo (n).* Again, “*To the woman*

(a) Rev. ii. 26. (b) chap. iii. 12. (c) Luke i. 55.
(d) Matt. xii. 36. (e) chap. xxi. 42. (f) Acts vii.
40. (g) Psal. xviii. 30. (h) Matt. xxiii. 37.
(i) Isa. xlvii. 6. (k) Matt. 12. 1. (l) Col. ii. 19.
(m) Acts x. 17. (n) Josh. i. 3.

man were given two wings of a great eagle, that she might fly into the wilderness, into her place, *οὕτως τρεφεταί εκεί (a)*. Similar to this instance, in the Hebrew, “Then said Saul to his servant, Well said, come let us go; so they went unto the city *אשר-שם איש האלהים* *asher-sham ish Haelohim (b)*. Again, Pilate---said *Αἰσχος εἰμι ἀπο τοῦ αἵματος, &c (c)*. and St. Paul, *ὅτι καθάρος ἐγὼ ἀπο τοῦ αἵματος πάντων (d)*: where *ἀπο* seems to be redundant. The following is a similar hebrew expression, “When David heard it he said, *נָקִי אֲנִי---מֵרֵמִי אֲבִנִי* *naki anchi---middeme Abnèr (e)*.”

3dly, Ellipsis is a common figure in the New Testament, after the manner of the Hebrew: For instance, “Behold, I send unto you prophets and wisemen and scribes, *καὶ ἐξ’ αὐτῶν ἀποκτενεῖτε καὶ σταυρώσετε, καὶ ἐξ’ αὐτῶν μαρτυρώσετε, &c (f)*. Like the following expression in the second book of Kings; “And John went---into the house of Baal, and said unto the worshippers of Baal, search and look, lest there be here with you *מַעֲבְרֵי יְהוָה* *mègnabhdhè Jehovah (g)*.”

However, after all the exceptions to the purity of the New Testament Greek, it hath as able critics among its advocates, as any that have appeared on the contrary side; particularly Mr. Blackwall, who, in his sacred classics, maintains the language of the New Testament to be not only pure, but very elegant Greek. He hath vindicated, with great learning, the several passages excepted against, producing parallel ones out of the purest authors. He denies

(a) Rev. xii. 14. (b) 1 Sam. ix. 10. (c) Matt. xxvii. 24. (d) Acts xx. 26. (e) 2 Sam. iii. 28. (f) Matt. xxiii. 34. (g) 2 Kings x. 23.

nies there are any solecisms; having not only well supported the suspected places, but generally shown a peculiar beauty in them. It is a remark of Mr. Addison, that the most exquisite words and finest strokes of an author are those, which often appear the most doubtful and exceptionable, to a man who wants a relish for polite learning; and which a sour undistinguishing critick attacks with the greatest violence. Tully observes, that it is very easy to brand, or fix a mark, upon what he calls "verbum ardens," a bold glowing expression, and to turn it into ridicule by a cold ill-natured criticism. Blackwall acknowledges, the New Testament hath words and expressions not to be found in any classic author; nor could it be otherwise, when it treats of things which the Heathens had no ideas of, nor any words for. New names must be given to new things. In this respect no other liberty is taken, than is freely done by Tully, Plato, and the greatest geniuses of all ages.

As for the mixture of foreign words, especially latin, there are not many. However, in the use of these few, the sacred writers are equally to be vindicated, at least, with the greek classics, who have many foreign, particularly persic words. For, as the most eminent of them flourished at a time, when the empire of the Persians was of vast extent, and had a great influence on the affairs of Greece, many of their words became familiar to, and were adopted by the Greeks. In the times of the apostles and evangelists, the roman empire having extended its conquest over all the countries where Greek was spoke, by that means roman words

words and phrases crept in as before persic had done.

As to Hebraisms, the reason why the New Testament writers mingled them with their Greek, does not seem to be owing so much to their being Hebrews, as to their discoursing of many things relating to the mosaic law, and capable of being well expressed in the hebrew language, which could not be expressed so happily, if at all, in any other. So that if they had declined using the hebrew idiom, they must have invented new words and phrases, which would not have been easily, or soon, understood. Mr. Blackwall observes, that in common morals, in matters of conversation and historical narrative, they use the same words and phrases with Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, &c. and that they do not more differ from the classics in their form of expression, than these do from one another.

A great many expressions, originally Hebraisms, have, by the best authors, been transplanted into the greek tongue, and are now become proper and genuine phrases. But the sacred writers, being better acquainted, with the hebrew language, have remarkably enriched their stile from that inexhaustible mine, to which the Greeks had little access.

Upon the whole, he is confident, that if a man reads the New Testament with a heart as much prepossessed in its favour, as when he sits down to Virgil or Homer, he will find incidents and sentiments therein, expressed with more natural propriety and energy than can be found in their writings, though in every age since they wrote, they have been the objects of universal admiration.

I am loath to dismifs the subject we are upon, without giving you an abstract of this author's critique upon the several writers of the New Testament*.

St. Matthew, saith he, hath all the characters of a good historian; truth and impartiality, clearness of narration, propriety and gravity of diction, and order of time well observed. The two next evangelists often borrow his very words and form of expression, when they are on the same subject; and yet each has his proper style.

St. Mark has a comprehensive, clear and beautiful brevity. He sometimes uses the repetition of words of the same original, and like found; as the most vigorous authors do: such as, ἀπεσέλασαν τὴν σέγγην (a). — ἐν τῇ ἀναστάσει οὐκ ἀναστῆναι (b). — κτισθεὺς, ἡς ἐκτισεν (c).

St. Luke's style is pure, copious, and flowing. He acquaints us with numerous historical passages, not related by the other evangelists. He is justly applauded for his politeness and elegance by some critics; who seem, however, to magnify him, in order to depreciate his brethren; notwithstanding he hath as many hebraisms and peculiarities as any of them.

The style of St. John is grave and simple, short and conspicuous, always plain, and sometimes low; but he reacheth to the heavens in the sublimity of his notions. He has frequent repetitions, in order to press his important doctrines with more closeness and vehemence. He often takes one thing two ways, both in the affirmative

* See vol. I. part 2. chap. vii.

(a) Mark ii. 4. (b) chap. xii. 23. (c) chap. xiii. 19.

affirmative and negative : as, “ He that hath the son, hath life ; but he that hath not the son, hath not life.”

St. Paul is admired for the copiousness and variety of his style, for the loftiness of his sentiment, for the dexterity of his address. He has every charm of eloquence, and shows himself, occasionally, master of every style. “ If any, saith Mr. Locke, hath thought St. Paul a loose writer, it was only because he was a loose reader, for he that takes notice of his design, will find there is scarce a word or expression, he makes use of, except with relation and tendency to his present main purpose.”

Erasmus passes a bold censure upon St. James, when he saith, “ The epistle under his name does not every where express the apostolical gravity and majesty*.” But other learned and judicious persons have imagined they have discovered, in that epistle, vigorous and expressive words, a beautiful simplicity, natural and engaging sentiments, lively figures and substantial eloquence. Where can a finer description of the malignity and mischief of an unbridled tongue be found, than in his third chapter. The emphasis and eloquence of that sublime description of the divine munificence and immutability in the seventeenth verse of the first chapter, is greatly and justly admired †.

St.

[* Vid. annot. in cap. v. sub fine.

† The first words of that passage are a fine Hexameter,

Πασα δοσις αγαθη, και παν δωρημα τελειον

A small transposition of the next words will make another Hexameter,

Ες' απο των φωτων πατρος καταβαινον ανωθεν.

How naturally do sublime sentiments give birth to poetical numbers, as well as poetical expressions!

St. Peter's style expresses the noble vehemence and fervor of his spirit. He writes with that quickness and rapidity, sometimes neglecting the formal niceties of grammar, (as is common with sublime geniuses,) that you can scarcely perceive the pauses of his discourse, and the distinction of his periods. His description of the conflagration and future judgment (*a*) is a master-piece. He makes us see, as it were, the heavens and the earth wrapt up in devouring flames; and hear the groans of an expiring world, and the crush of nature tumbling into universal ruin. And how solemn and moving is the epiphonema, or practical inference, "Seeing therefore, all these things must be dissolved, what manner of persons ought ye to be in all holy conversation and godliness (*b*)."

Origen saith, that "Jude hath wrote an epistle, of few verses, indeed, but full of vigorous expressions of heavenly grace*." This apostle adopts the sentiment, and frequently the words of St. Peter in the second chapter of his second epistle; though sometimes he leaves out some of his words, at other times he enlarges, and gives a different turn to the thought. These two writers are very near a-kin, in subject, style, vehemence and just indignation against impudence, lewdness, and debauchers of sound principles. They answer one another in the New Testament, as the prophecy of Obadiah and part of the forty-ninth of Jeremiah do in the old.

After

(*a*) 2 Pet. iii.

(*b*) ver. 11.

* Comment. in Matt. xii. 55. p. 223. D. edit. Huet. Colon. 1685.

C. III. Genealogies of the Hebrews. 127

After Mr. Blackwall hath fully vindicated the writers of the New Testament, and set them, at least, upon a level with the best classics, he shows in the last chapter, what advantages they have over them in various respects. The greater part of the second volume is a critique upon the versions, and various lections of the New Testament; which it is beside our present purpose to consider.

We return now from this digression to the subject of jewish antiquities.

The genealogies of the Hebrews.

Godwin observes, that “the whole body of Israel, or the Hebrew nation was divided into twelve tribes, and that publick records were kept, wherein every one’s genealogy was registered, to manifest to what particular tribe he belonged.” This appears from the following passage in Chronicles, “The acts of Rehoboam,—are they not written in the book of Shemaiah the prophet, and of Iddo the seer, concerning genealogies (*a*); **להתיחש** *lehithjaches*, in genealogizando; that is probably in their genealogical tables of the royal families of the house of David; in which also, it seems, was interspersed some account of the lives and actions of the kings; the acts of Rehoboam being not only written in this book, but likewise the “acts of his son Abijah, his ways and his sayings (*b*).” In the fifth chapter of the first book of Chronicles, after an abstract of the genealogies

(*a*) 2 Chron. xii. 15.

(*b*) 2 Chron. xiii. 22.

genealogies contained in the book of Genesis, and of some of the tribes of Israel to the time of the captivity, it is added, "all these were reckoned by genealogies in the days of Jotham king of Judah, and in the days of Jeroboam king of Israel (*a*); that is, the genealogical tables were then drawn up, which afterwards were continued down to the captivity; the names of several persons being inserted, who did not live till after the days of Jotham and Jeroboam. And then, after a genealogical table of the other tribes in the three next chapters, it follows, "So all Israel were reckoned by genealogies; and behold, they were written in the book of the kings of Israel and Judah (*b*)."
Where by "the book of the kings" cannot be meant those two historical books, which now pass under that name, these genealogies not being written therein; but some authentic public records of their genealogies, called "the king's book," probably, as being under his custody: Of which it is not unlikely there was a duplicate, one copy kept by the king of Judah, the other by the king of Israel; for it is called "the book of the kings of Israel and Judah."

The story of Herod's destroying the records, of the genealogies, which Godwin mentions, is related by Eusebius in his ecclesiastical history*. Yet it does not seem, that the Jews lost all account of their genealogies from that time; for they continued their distinction of tribes long after. St. Paul says, he was of "the tribe of Benjamin (*c*). St. James writes to the "twelve tribes, that were scattered abroad (*d*)."
And,

(*a*) 1 Chron. v. 17.

(*b*) chap. ix. 1.

* Lib. i. cap. 7. p. 24. edit. Reading, Cantab. 1720.

(*c*) Phil. iii. 5.

(*d*) James i. 1.

C. III. Genealogies of the Hebrew. 129

And, later still, Josephus gives the genealogy of his own family in his life, and says, "I give you this succession of our family, as I find it written in the public tables*." And he adds, that "all their priests were obliged to prove their succession from an ancient line;" and if they could not do it, they were to be excluded from officiating as priests. From whence it appears, there were public genealogical tables of their tribes and families as late as Josephus, who lived at the destruction of Jerusalem. By the way, therefore, it may be reasonably presumed, that both St. Matthew and St. Luke copied their genealogies of Christ, the one of the line of Mary, the other of Joseph, out of the public records, which were deemed authentic vouchers. The apostle, accordingly, represents it as a thing evident to the Jews, that "our Lord sprung out of Judah (a)." It was so, by their own genealogical tables, which the sacred historians faithfully copied. If there were any errors in those tables, they were not accountable for them; their business was only to transcribe without alteration; tampering with them might have created suspicion, and given the Jews some colour for denying, that our Lord "sprung out of Judah," according to the ancient prophecies concerning the Messiah.

Upon the whole, we must either conclude, that Eusebius had been entirely misinformed concerning Herod's burning the genealogical records; or that if one copy, (perhaps that which was laid up in the archives of the tem-

VOL. I.

K

ple.)

* Joseph. in vitâ §. 1. ad fin. apud oper. tom. 2. p. 1. edit. Haverc.

(a) Heb. vi. 14.

ple,) was destroyed, there were others in private hands, from whence another public copy was afterwards transcribed, and deposited in the same place.

It is probable, that after the dispersion of the Jews upon the dissolution of their polity, the genealogical tables came to be neglected, and so gradually perished. Some imagine, that their frequent intermarriages with the people of the countries, into which they were dispersed, made them designedly discontinue them; that the corrupt mixture and debasement of their blood might not appear. However that be, it is certain they have long since been lost.

From hence an argument is formed by Christians, that the Messiah must be already come; since if he be not, it can never be proved, that he is of the tribe of Judah and family of David.

But to this the Jews reply, that either Elias, or some other inspired priest or prophet, shall come, and restore their genealogical tables before the Messiah's appearance. A tradition, which they ground on a passage in Nehemiah(a), to this effect: The genealogical register of the families of certain priests being lost, they were not able to make out their lineal descent from Aaron; and therefore, "as polluted, were put from the priesthood;" the "Tirshatha said unto them, that they should not eat of the most holy things, till there stood up a priest in Urim and Thummim." From hence the Jews conclude, that such a priest will stand up, and restore and compleat the genealogies of their families: though others suppose these words to import,

(a) chap. vii. 64, 65.

import, that they should never exercise their priesthood any more; and that, "till there shall stand up a priest in Urim and Thummim," amounts to the same as the roman proverb, *ad græcas calendas*, since the Urim and Thummim were now absolutely and for ever lost.

The Profelytes.

We now come to the Profelytes; who were not of the natural posterity of Abraham, but joined themselves to the people of Israel, and were, by the Greeks, stiled *Προσελυτοι, απο της προσελιγηθεναι*, *ab adventando & coeundo**; but by the Hebrews גרים *gèrim*, peregrini, foreigners or inmates in opposition to natives. Hence the son of a Profelyte by the father's side, was called בן גר *ben ger*, the son of a Profelyte by the mother's side, בן גרה *ben gerah*, and the son of both a he and she profelyte by the artificial name בגבג *bagbag*, which is composed of the initial letters of *ben ger*, and *ben gerah*.

The Hebrews speak of two sorts of Profelytes, the one called גרי צדק *gere tsedhek*, profelyti justitiæ; the other תושבים *toshabhim*, inquilini, or גרי שער *gere shangnar*, profelyti portæ. The former became compleat Jews, and were in all respects united to the jewish church and nation; the latter did not embrace the jewish religion, yet were suffered to live among the Jews under certain restrictions. Nevertheless the former, as well as the latter,

* Philo. Jud. lib 1. de monarch. apud opera, p. 631. edit. Colon. Allobr. 1613.

are sometimes distinguished from Jews, that is, from native Jews. Thus in the Acts (*a*), we read of the Jews, and religious Profelytes, at Antioch in Pisidia; who must have been Profelytes of righteousness, because none were called Profelytes of the gate, (if any such there were,) who did not dwell in the land of Israel.

As for the Profelytes of righteousness, the scripture gives us no other account of the manner of their admission into the jewish church, but by the rite of circumcision. In the book of Exodus, amongst the regulations concerning the passover, this is one, "When a stranger will sojourn with thee, and will keep the passover to the Lord, let all his males be circumcised, and then let him come near and keep it; and he shall be as one, that is born in the land (*b*)."

Where these two things are further observable,

1st, That when a man thus became a Profelyte, all his males were to be circumcised as well as himself; whereby his children were admitted into the visible church of God, in his right, as their father.

2dly, That upon this he should be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of the jewish church and nation, as well as be subject to the whole law: He should be as one "born in the land."

To this brief account which the scripture gives us of the admission of Profelytes, the rabbies add a much larger one, of the preparation for their admission, of the form of their admission, and of the consequences and effects of it.

First,

(*a*) chap. xiii. 43.

(*b*) Exod. xii. 48.

First, The preparation for the admission of Profelytes consisted, according to them, of three articles:

1st, An examination :

2dly, Instruction :

3dly, Their making a profession of their faith, and of their obedience to the jewish law.

1st, The person, that offered himself to be a Profelyte, was examined by three of the magistrates concerning the causes that moved him to it ; whether it was the love of any jewish woman, the fear of any temporal punishment, the prospect of riches, or of any worldly advantage ? or whether it was a sincere love to God and his law ? When he had given a satisfactory answer to these questions, he was then

2dly, Instructed in the jewish religion, and particularly in the doctrine of rewards and punishments. And after this

3dly, He solemnly professed his assent to the doctrines which had been proposed to him, and promised to persevere in the faith, and practice of the law of God till death.

Secondly, As to the form and manner of admitting Profelytes, the rabbies make it to consist of three articles, circumcision, baptism and sacrifice.

1st, To the scripture account of the requirement of circumcision, in this case, they add, that though the Profelyte was a Samaritan, or of any other nation, who used that rite, some blood must, nevertheless, be drawn afresh from the part which had been circumcised.

2dly, The Profelyte, whether male or female, must be baptized by the immersion of the whole body into water ; and this must be

performed in a river, fountain, or pond, not in a vessel.

Some ground this Profelyte baptism on the instruction which Jacob gave to his "household and all that were with him," when they were to make a new consecration of themselves to God, "Put away the strange gods from amongst you, and be clean(*a*)."
Where by "being clean" they understand their being baptised, or their bodies being washed with water. They further suppose, that the Israelites "being baptised into Moses in the cloud and in the sea," mentioned by St. Paul (*b*), means their entering into the mosaic covenant, by the rite of baptism; and that when, therefore, in after ages any became Profelytes, or entered into this covenant, they also were baptised.

Godwin seems to think, John's baptism was of this sort. But it is certain, that could not properly be profelyte baptism; because he administered it to such as were Jews already, and he had no commission to set up a new dispensation, to which people should be admitted by this or any other rite. He only gave notice that the kingdom of God, or the gospel dispensation, was at hand; but it did not commence till after his death, namely at our Saviour's resurrection: And profelyte baptism was a form of professing a new religion, at least new to the person professing it, and of his being admitted a member of a church of which he was not one before. It was therefore, I say, of a very different nature from John's baptism. His is rather to be considered as one of those "divers washings," in use among the Jews on many

(*a*) Gen. xxxv. 2.

(*b*) 1 Cor. x. 2.

many occasions; for he did not attempt to make any alteration in the jewish religion as settled by the mosaic law, any more than to erect a new dispensation. And as these washings were intended not only for “the purifying of the flesh,” but to be signs and symbols of moral purity; so the rite of baptism was, in this view, very suitable to the doctrine of repentance, which John preached.

It is a further supposition of Godwin’s, that our Saviour converted this jewish profelyte baptism into a christian sacrament. Upon this notion Dr. Wall * hath founded an argument for baptising children, as well as adult persons; because when a parent was profelyted, all his children were baptised, as well as all his male children circumcised. But as baptism was administered, according to the jewish doctors, only to the children born before his profelytism, not to any born afterwards, nor to his more distant posterity, who were esteemed holy branches in virtue of springing from an holy root †; some infer, that under the christian dispensation baptism is only to be administered to converts from judaism, mahometanism, paganism, or some other religion, and to their descendants born before their conversion and baptism, but to none born after. Mr. Emlyn, in particular ‡, insists upon this argument against the

K 4 .

constant

* See the introduction to his history of infant baptism.

† It was a maxim with the rabbies, *Natus baptizati habetur pro baptizato*. This restriction of baptism to children born before their parent’s profelytism rests on the same authority, as the custom of baptizing any children of profelytes; which appears from Dr. Wall.

‡ Previous question to several questions about valid and invalid baptism.

constant and universal obligation of infant baptism.

But after all, it remains to be proved, not only that christian baptism was instituted in the room of profelyte baptism, but that the Jews had any such baptism in our Saviour's time. The earliest accounts we have of it are in the Mishna and Gemara *; the former compiled, as the Jews assert, by rabbi Juda, in the second century, though learned men in general bring it several centuries lower; the latter, not till the seventh century. There is not a word of it in Philo; nor yet in Josephus, though he gives an account of the profelyting of the Idumeans by Hyrcanus. Indeed on this occasion, he mentions only circumcision as the rite of initiation, and saith, that upon receiving this rite, and living according to the jewish law, they from that time became Jews †. And notwithstanding he speaks of John's baptism, yet it is under a very different notion from the profelyte baptism spoken of by the mishnical rabbies. "This good man, saith he, did Herod kill, who exhorted the virtuous, just and pi-
ous

* The Mishna is a collection of the jewish traditions and explanations of several passages of scripture. The Gemara is a sort of glossary on the Mishna. And these together make up the Talmud. There are two Gemaras, that of Jerusalem, and that of Babylon; the latter of which is most valued. The Jerusalem Gemara, father Morin proves from the work itself, in which mention is made of the Turks, could not have been wrote till the time of Heraclius, about the year 620. The Gemara of Babylon was begun by one Aïa, in the beginning of the seventh century, and on account of the wars between the Saracens and Persians discontinued for seventy-three years, and then finished by one Josa.

† Antiq. lib. xiii. cap. ix. §. 1. tom. 1. p. 659. edit. Haverc.

ous to come to his baptism; for he looked upon baptism to be acceptable to God; when used, not for purging away certain offences, but for purifying the body, the soul having been before cleansed by righteousness*." So that he makes John's baptism to be of the nature of the Jewish purifications, or ceremonial washings, without having any reference to profelyte baptism; which, on this occasion, he could hardly have failed mentioning, if it had been then in use.

It is alledged, however, in favour of its antiquity, that it is mentioned by Arrian, who lived A.D. 150. for speaking of a philosopher's obligation to act agreeably to his character, he hath this illustration: "If we see any one change his profession," (or become a Jew,) "we do not for that reason stile him a Jew, but regard him as an hypocrite. Yet when he discovers the disposition and manners of one who is baptized, *τε βαπτυμενς*, and insisted in that sect, then he both is, and is called, a Jew†."

But to this it is replied, that nothing was more common, than for the Heathens to confound the Jews and Christians. Even Festus, who governed for some time in Judea, seems to have taken the Christians only for a sect of the Jews (a). Suetonius speaks of an insurrection made by the Jews, "impulsore Chresto‡." And

* Antiq. lib. xviii. cap. 5. §. 2. tom. 1. p. 883, 884. edit. Haverc.

† Comment. in Epictet. lib. 2. cap. 9. p. 192. edit. Cantab. 1655.

(a) Acts xxv. 19, 20.

‡ Sueton. in vit. Claudii, cap. xxv. §. 12. & annot. in loc. tom. 2. p. 87. edit. Pitisci.

And it is most likely, that Arrian meant Christians in the place alledged, because in his time many persons became Profelytes to christianity, but few or none to judaism, the Jews who were scattered amongst all nations, being every where oppressed and despised. Besides, if he had spoke of Profelytes to judaism, it is highly probable he would have mentioned their circumcision, for which the Heathens derided them, rather than their baptism, which was not so very foreign to some of the heathen rites of purification.

Upon the whole, it is more likely the Jews took the hint of profelyte baptism from the Christians, after our Saviour's time, than that he borrowed his baptism from theirs; which, whenever it came into practice, was one of those additions to the law of God, which he severely censures (a). To this it is probable, Justin Martyr refers, in his dialogue with Trypho, when among the jewish heresies or sects, he mentions that of the βαπτισται baptizers*. From hence it should seem that in his time, about the middle of the second century, profelyte baptism was a novel practice, and had not yet universally prevailed.

However, that be, there wants more evidence of its being as ancient as our Saviour's time, than I apprehend can be produced, to ground any argument upon it in relation to christian baptism. We therefore dismiss this form of the admission of Profelytes, as uncertain†.

3dly,

(a) Matt. xv. 9.

* Apud opera, p. 307. A. edit. Paris. 1615.

† On the subject of profelyte baptism, see Lightfoot. Mor. heb. ad Matt. iii. 6. and harm. ad Joh. iii. 23. Selden.

3dly, The rabbies tell us, the Profelyte was to offer a sacrifice on occasion of his admission; in the presence of three witnesses, not mean, but respectable and honourable persons.

Thus much concerning the form and manner of admitting Profelytes.

Thirdly, We are to consider the effects and consequences of being made a Profelyte.

1st, The Profelyte was now considered as born again. It was a saying among the Jews, that "when a man is made a Profelyte he is like a new born infant," and "he hath a new soul." This is supposed to throw some light on our Saviour's reproof to Nicodemus, "Art thou a master in Israel and knowest not these things (a)," that is, what being "born again" means? For, it seems, Nicodemus, apprehending a Jew was never to be a Profelyte to any other religion, did not know how to understand it otherwise, than of "entring a second time into the womb, and being born (b)." Whereas he who was a master in Israel, and probably a member of the great council or Sanhedrim, might have been expected to comprehend the force of our Lord's phraseology from the common use of the like expressions concerning those who became Profelytes*.

2dly, The bond of natural relation, betwixt the Profelyte and all his kindred, was now dissolved. Wherefore it was a maxim with the rabbies, that a Profelyte might lawfully marry his own mother, or his own daughter,
born

den. de jure nat. & gent. lib. 2. cap. 2. particularly Wall's introduction to his history of infant baptism, and Gale's reflections on Wall, lett. 9, and 10.

(a) John iii. 10. (b) ver. 4.

* See Lightfoot. horæ heb. in loc.

born before he became a Profelyte; they being now no more related to him than any other women. Though such marriages were looked upon as indecent, and on that account not permitted *. Some have supposed our Saviour refers to the Profelyte's renunciation of his natural relations, when he saith, "If any man come unto me, and hate not his father, and mother, and wife, and children, and brethren, and sister, yea, and his own life also, he cannot be my disciple (a):" And that the same is alluded to in the following passage of the Psalmist, "Hearken, O daughter, and incline thine ear; forget also thine own people and thy father's house (b)." Tacitus in his character of the Jews, having mentioned their custom of circumcision, as adopted by Profelytes, adds, "They then quickly learn to despise the gods, to renounce their country, and to hold their parents, children and brethren in the utmost contempt †." And very probably, this unnatural contempt, which the jewish doctors taught Profelytes to entertain of their nearest relations, might be one thing, on account of which they are said, to have "made them twofold more the children of hell, than themselves (c)."

3dly, The Profelyte was now to all intents and purposes a Jew ‡, and intitled to a share in the

* Lightfoot. hor. heb. ad Joh. iii. 3. and Selden de jure nat. & gent. lib. v. cap. 18.

(a) Luke xiv. 26. (b) Psal. xlv. 10.

† Tacit. histor. lib. v. cap. 5.

(c) Matt. xxiii. 15.

‡ Consult Numb. xv. 15. Esth. viii. 17. and Josephus in the place above cited, concerning the Idumeans; where he saith, that being circumcised and living according to the law of Moses, they were from that time Jews, το λοιπον Ιουδαιοι.

the privileges and blessings of such. He was to be treated with the utmost respect and kindness*; no native Jew might upbraid him with his former idolatry and wickedness. Yet it is certain, the Jews were in general apt to look with a very evil eye upon Profelytes, especially on those who had been Samaritans; for they thought themselves allowed to hate Samaritans, even though they became Profelytes, because their ancestors obstructed the rebuilding the temple, and the holy city; and for this they would never forgive them, though by admitting them as Profelytes, they declared their faith and hope, that God had forgiven them.

According to the rabbies, Profelytes were excluded from many civil advantages, or privileges of the commonwealth, to which Israelites by descent were entitled†. Certain it is, the law made a difference between one nation and another, as to what is called “entering into the congregation of the Lord (a).” Edomites and Egyptians had this privilege in the third generation (b); though their immediate children were excluded, their grandchildren were admitted. An Ammonite or Moabite was excluded even “to the tenth generation,” saith the law, or as it is added, “for ever;” which the Jews take to be explanatory of the tenth generation (c). The law was certainly thus understood in Nehemiah’s time: “On that day they

* See a remarkable passage in Philo. lib. 1. de monarchia, apud opera, p. 631, 632. F. G. A. edit. Colon. Allobr. 1613.

† Vid. Selden. de jure naturæ & gent. lib. 2. cap. 4. Oper. tom. 1. p. 194,—196. & de Synedr. lib. 2. cap. 8. tom. 2. p. 1396 & seq. edit. Lond. 1726.

(a) Deut. xxiii. beginning. (b) ver. 7, 8. (c) ver. 3.

they read in the book of Moses in the audience of the people; and therein was found written, that the Ammonite and the Moabite should not enter into the congregation of God for ever, &c. and it came to pass, when they had heard the law, that they separated from Israel all the mixed multitude (*a*). Bastards were, likewise, under the same exclusion to the tenth generation, though not for ever (*b*).

It is not certain, what is meant by not “entering into the congregation of the Lord.” It cannot be as Ainsworth rightly observes*, not adopting the faith and religion of Israel, and entering into the church in that respect; because it was lawful for all so to do (*c*). The hebrew doctors generally understand by it, a prohibition of the Israelites marrying with such persons, as are here excluded †. To this it is objected, that “he who is wounded in genitalibus, cui sunt attriti vel amputati testes, or who is totally castrated, cui abscissum est veretrum, is, likewise, excluded (*d*).” Now, say they, it would be superfluous to forbid women to marry with such persons, because it cannot be supposed they would. It may nevertheless be replied, though such a prohibition might probably be needless, when this their defect was known; it might be requisite to forbid such persons marrying, when it was secret, as they might be inclined to do for several politic reasons. Dr. Patrick, therefore, understands by the

(*a*) Nehem. xiii. 1,—3.

(*b*) Deut. xxiii. 2.

* in loc.

(*c*) Exod. xii. 48, 49.

† Vid. Selden. de jure naturæ & gent. lib. v. cap. 16. Oper. tom. 1. p. 576.

(*d*) ver. 1.

the mixed multitude, which, in the forecited passage of Nehemiah we are told, was separated from Israel by this law, such as were born of strangers, who were not allowed to partake of the rites of marriage with Israelites.

But the opinion concerning entering into the congregation, most commonly received among christian writers, is, that it signifies being permitted to bear any office in the jewish commonwealth. And it is certain, saith Dr. Patrick, the hebrew word קהל *kahal*, which we render congregation, does in many places signify, not the whole body of the people of Israel, but the great assembly of elders. Those who prefer this sense, assign as a reason, why eunuchs of all sorts were excluded, as well as strangers, that they are generally observed to want courage, and are therefore unfit for government.

We proceed now to the other sort of Profelytes, whom the jewish doctors style גרי שער *gere shangnar*, "strangers of the gate," from an expression which several times occurs in the mosaic law, "The stranger that is within thy gate (*a*).¹" Or otherwise they are called גרי תושב *gere toshabh*. Thus in Leviticus we read of "Strangers that sojourned" among the Israelites, התושבים הגרים *hattoshabim haggarrim* (*b*). These were foreigners, who did not embrace the jewish religion, (and are, therefore, improperly called Profelytes), yet "were suffered to live among the Jews" under certain restrictions. As

1st, That they should not practice idolatry, nor worship any other God beside the God of Israel; which under the Theocracy, was "crimen

{*a*} See Deut. xiv. 21.

{*b*} Lev. xxv. 45.

men læsæ majestatis," and therefore not to be tolerated: "He that sacrificeth unto any God, save the Lord; he shall utterly be destroyed (a)."

2dly, That they should not blaspheme the God of Israel: "He that blasphemeth the name of the Lord, shall surely be put to death; as well the stranger, as he that is born in the land (b)." And perhaps also,

3dly, That they should keep the jewish sabbath; so far at least, as to refrain from working on that day. For in the fourth commandment the obligation of observing the sabbatical rest is expressly extended to the "Stranger that was within their gates (c)."

So long as they lived under these restrictions in a peaceable manner, the Israelites were forbid to "vex or oppress them (d)." Nevertheless they might buy slaves out of their families, as well as of the Heathen that were round about them (e). But of their brethren the Israelites, they were forbid to make slaves (f). It was lawful to lend upon usury to these strangers, though it was not to an Israelite (g). They might eat that which died of itself, which was prohibited to an Israelite (h). By the stranger, therefore, who was forbidden to "eat blood and that which died of itself (i)," we must necessarily understand a Profelyte of righteousness. And such also, the jewish doctors say, is the stranger mentioned in the fourth commandment, who was obliged to keep the sabbath; it being, in their apprehension, unlawful for any uncircumcised person to observe the law

(a) Exod. xxii. 20. (b) Lev. xxiv. 16. (c) Exod. xx. 10. (d) Exod. xxii. 21. (e) Lev. xxv. 44, 45. (f) ver. 39, 40. (g) Deut. xxiii. 20. (h) Deut. xiv. 21. (i) Lev. xvii. 12, 15.)

law of Moses, because it was given peculiarly to Israel: "Moses commanded us a law, even the inheritance of the congregation of Jacob (*a*)," in particular, the law concerning the sabbath: "Therefore the children of Israel shall keep the sabbath, to observe the sabbath throughout their generations for a perpetual covenant. It is a sign betwixt me and the children of Israel for ever (*b*)."¹ But in concluding from hence, that none except native Israelites, and such as had joined themselves to their church, were obliged by the law of the sabbath; they seem to forget, that it was given to Adam, and consequently to all mankind (*c*). There is no impropriety, therefore, in supposing, that these uncircumcised strangers were comprehended in the fourth commandment. Besides, it seems reasonable, that they should be obliged to rest on the Jewish sabbath, lest their working or recreations should disturb and hinder the devotion of the Israelites.

These strangers were, moreover, permitted to worship the God of Israel in the outer court of the temple; which for that reason was called, "the court of the Gentiles;" to which there is a reference in the charge, given to the angel in the book of the Revelation, to "measure the temple of God, and the altar, and them that worship therein; but the court, which is without the temple, to leave out, and measure it not; because it is given to the Gentiles (*d*). Betwixt this and the inner court, where the Israelites assembled, there was a wall to which the apostle Paul alludes: "For he is our peace,

VOL. I.

L

who

(*a*) Deut. xxxiii. 4.(*b*) Exod. xxxi. 16, 17.(*c*) Gen. ii. 3.(*d*) Rev. xi. 2.

who hath made both (Jews and Gentiles) one, and hath broken down the middle wall of partition between us (a).” For such worshippers as these strangers, and for their acceptance with God, Solomon prayed at the dedication of the temple, “Moreover concerning a stranger, that is not of thy people Israel, but cometh out of a far country, for thy name’s sake (for they shall hear of thy great name, and of thy strong hand, and of thy stretched out arm), when he shall come and pray towards this house, hear thou in heaven thy dwelling place, and do according to all that the stranger calleth to thee for, that all the people of the earth may know thy name to fear thee, as do thy people Israel (b).”

The numbers of these strangers, who dwelt among the Israelites, were very considerable; we find no less than one hundred fifty three thousand six hundred of them, in Solomon’s time, employed in servile labour (c).

This is the sum of what can be gathered, from scripture concerning the גֵּרֵי שְׂעָרַי gere shangnar, or תּוֹשָׁבִים toshabh.

But the talmudical rabbies have made Profelytes of all these strangers and sojourners*, at least, of all who were in the land of Israel when the Jews were their own masters, and not in subjection to any foreign power; for they confess, in that case, there was no preventing Heathens dwelling among them, even though they refused to submit to the restrictions of the law; they say, therefore, they were no Profelytes of the gate in such times: but that at
other

(a) Eph. ii. 14.

(b) 1 Kings viii. 41,—43.

(c) 2 Chron. ii. 17, 18.

* Vid. Selden. de jure nat. et gent. lib. ii. cap. iii.

other times no Gentile was permitted to dwell in the land of Israel, without being a Profelyte of the gate; that is, without submitting to and obeying the seven precepts, which the rabbies pretend, God gave to Noah and his sons, and which, according to them, comprized the law of nature, common to all mankind.

These have been usually stiled the septem præcepta Noachidarum *; by which they were required, — to abstain from idolatry, — from blasphemy, — from murder, — from adultery, — from theft: — to institute judges to maintain the laws; and — not to eat the flesh of any animal, cut off while it was alive.

Maimonides saith, the first six precepts were given to Adam, and the seventh to Noah §.

But what creates a suspicion, that this is all invention of the Talmudists is, that there is no mention of these seven precepts being given to the Noachidæ, in scripture, in Onkelos, in Josephus, or in Philo; and that neither Jerom, nor Origen, nor any of the ancient fathers, appear to have been in the least acquainted with them.

However, something like the seventh was undoubtedly given to Noah and his posterity: “The flesh with the life thereof, which is the blood thereof, shall you not eat (a).” Under this restriction, they had, presently after the flood, permission to eat all sorts of animal food: “Every moving thing, that liveth, shall be meat for you; even as the green herb, have I given you all things (b).” From whence it has been generally concluded, that the Antediluvians used only vegetables; which seems, in-

L 2

deed

* Vid. Selden. de jure nat. et gent. lib. 1. cap. x. et Schickard. de jure regio, cum notis Carpzov. p. 333. et seq.

§ De regibus, cap. ix. ab init. apud Crenu raicul. nonum, p. 133.

(a) Gen. i. x4,

(b) ver. 3.

deed, to be the only kind of food God allotted for man at his creation (*a*). Nevertheless, immediately after the flood, the permission is extended to “every moving thing that liveth;” that is, to all kind of animals that are fit for food, without any such distinction between clean and unclean, as was afterwards made under the Jewish law.

Some have, indeed, maintained the contrary opinion; supposing, that the use of animal food was included in the general grant of power and dominion, which God gave to Adam over the brute creation (*b*).

The chief arguments, to prove that animal food was not used before the deluge, are *,

1st, That God’s grant, of the use of his creatures for food, to Adam, is expressly restrained to the vegetable creation.

2dly, The scripture history is wholly silent concerning the use of animal food before the flood.

3dly, If animal food had been then permitted, there could have been no reason for this new grant which God gave to Noah.

The chief arguments, alledged on the other side, are taken

1st, From the history of Abel’s sacrifice; which is said to have consisted of the “firstlings of his flock, and the fat thereof (*c*).” Now, it having never been usual to offer any thing in sacrifice to God, but what was useful to man, it is concluded from this account, that animals were, at that time, used for food.

Never-

(*a*) Gen. i. 29, 30.

(*b*) Gen. i. 26,—28.

* On this debate consult Heidegger. histor. Patriarch. tom. i. exercit. xv.

(*c*) Gen. iv. 4.

Nevertheless, this will not follow, because Abel's flock might be kept for the sake of the milk and wool; which render these creatures exceeding serviceable.

It must be owned, that the particular mention of the fat, in the account of this sacrifice, might incline one to think it was a peace offering; the fat of which was consumed upon the altar, and the flesh eat by the person at whose charge the offering was made, and by the priests (*a*). But the affix of the word, חֶלְבֵּהן *chelbehen*, which we translate "the fat thereof," should rather be rendered "of them;" namely, of the firstlings of his flock; intimating, not that he offered the fat of the animal; but the fattest or best amongst them. The word חֶלֶב *chelebh*, is often used for the best of its kind, whatever be the thing spoken of. Thus חֶלֶב הַטָּהָר *chelebh chittah*, is well rendered "the finest of the wheat (*b*)."
The fat of the oil, and the fat of the wine, mean the best of their kind, as our translators have rendered it (*c*). The "fat of the land" means the best of its produce (*d*). Thus it seems most natural to understand the word חֶלֶב *chelebh*, in the present case; importing, that Abel brought the best of his flock for an offering to the Lord: This, we suppose, was a whole burnt offering, or sacrifice of atonement; which, according to the law afterward given to Moses, was entirely consumed on the Altar; except the skin, which was the priest's fee for killing and offering it (*e*).

L 3

There

(*a*) Lev. iii. per totum. chap. vii. 15. 33. (*b*) Psal. lxxxii. 16. cxlvii. 14. (*c*) Numb. xviii. 12. (*d*) Gen. xlv. 18. (*e*) Lev. vii. 8.

There were many other sorts of sacrifices, afterwards appointed by the law of Moses; which had a political, as well as religious use; as we showed in a former lecture. But the design of the whole burnt offering was entirely religious, to impress the conscience with a sense of the deserved punishment of sin, and to typify the great atonement which Christ, in due time, was to offer. There was the same reason, therefore, for these sacrifices before the time of Moses, as there was afterwards; and it is probable, that they were instituted presently after the fall, and that of the skins of the animals slain for sacrifice, God made those garments for Adam and Eve, which are spoken of in the third chapter of Genesis (*a*); that is, directed them to make them: as Jacob is said to have made his son Joseph a coat of many colours (*b*); or ordered it to be made.

Upon the whole, the history of Abel's sacrifice affords no proof of men's eating animal food before the flood. We proceed therefore,

2dly, To another argument in favour of this opinion, built upon the distinction of the creatures into clean and unclean, before Noah entered into the ark (*c*). Now it is alledged, that we cannot conceive of any cleanness or uncleanness in those animals themselves; but merely as some are more fit for food than others, or as God is pleased to permit the use of some, and not of others; and therefore it is said, this distinction of them before the flood, must imply, that animal food was used at that time.

To this it has been replied by some, that the distinction is used by Moses, in his history of those

(*a*) ver. 21.
vii. 2.

(*b*) Gen. xxxvii. 3.

(*c*) Gen;

those early times, proleptically. Cyrenius is called governor of Syria by St. Luke, in relating what he did at the time of our Saviour's birth, though he was not made governor of Syria till several years after. So we may suppose Moses, in his history of the deluge, ranges the animals that went into the ark, into clean and unclean, according to the distinction, afterwards made betwixt them by the law, and well known when he wrote. This answer, perhaps, hath too much the air of a subterfuge, to be perfectly satisfactory.

Suppose then we make this reply, that the terms, "clean and unclean," do not here respect the distinction, afterwards made by the Jewish law; but a natural difference, which may be observed, in most of the creatures, that God allowed or forbid to be eat by the Jews. The clean, have no upper cutting teeth, their fat hardens into suet, they rise up with their hind feet first; in all which respects they are the reverse of the unclean. Such a distinction therefore, men would naturally make, not only when animal food came to be used, but probably before.

However, suppose it should respect the use of them for food, it will not follow, because God commanded above three times as many more of the clean creatures, than of the unclean, to be preserved in the ark, that men used them for food before the flood. It seems more probable, that this distinction was now first made, and a greater number of those which were most fit for food preserved, merely because God intended to permit the use of them in a very short time.

There is another question on this head, which should be a little considered before we dismiss the subject: For what reason were the Antediluvians not allowed to make use of animal food, as well as Noah and his posterity after the flood?

The more commonly received opinion is, that, it was to preserve their lives, that the world might be speedily replenished with inhabitants; because the free use of flesh would impair their constitution and shorten their days. Their longevity is accordingly imputed to their sobriety, and the simplicity of their diet, and in particular to their living only on vegetables. But this would make God's grant of animal food to Noah, a curse instead of a blessing. Besides, it is not certain, that the moderate use of it is at all prejudicial to health. If it were, why hath God formed us with teeth so peculiarly adapted to the mastication of it, and with a stomach suited to digest it? Beverovicus, a learned physician*, is so far from being convinced, that eating flesh is unsalutary, and tends to shorten men's lives, that among several causes of the longevity of the Antediluvians, one, which he assigns, is, their eating raw flesh; the best and most nourishing parts of which, he supposes to be carried off in dressing by the action of the fire. But though there is great reason to conclude, the Antediluvians eat no flesh, I can see no good reason to impute their longevity to abstaining from it, or to believe, that it was for the sake of their health, God did not allow them to use it.

I shall take the liberty, myself, to offer a conjecture. Supposing the lives of animals were
no

* Vid. ejus Thesaurum sanitatis, lib. 3. et apud Heidegger. histor. Patriarch. tom. 1. ex. xiv. de eorum long. §. xx.

no longer before the flood, and consequently their increase no greater than at present, while the lives of men were ten times as long, and their increase consequently ten times greater; there was then, an evident reason, why animal food was not permitted, from the insufficient number of animals, insomuch that the use of them would, probably, in a few years have destroyed the whole species. For now mens lives are shortened, and their increase ten times less, there is only such a proportion betwixt the human and brutal species, as ordinarily, prevents the want of animal food without overstocking us. Divine wisdom therefore did not make this grant, till it thought fit to contract the life of man; which was immediately after the deluge.

Godwin, who relies on the authority of the talmudical rabbies for his account of the Profelytes of the gate, produces, out of the scripture history, four instances of such Profelytes; Naaman the Syrian (*a*), Cornelius the roman centurion (*b*), the ethiopian eunuch (*c*), and those devout men, *ανδρες ευλαβεις*, “out of every nation under heaven,” who are said to be dwelling at Jerusalem (*d*). But none of these are sufficient to support the rabbinical account of such Profelytes.

1st, As for Naaman, who was by birth a Syrian, and general or king Benhadad’s army, he appears to have been a gentile idolater. But being miraculously cured of his leprosy by the power of the God of Israel, and the direction of his prophet Elisha, he renounced his idolatry,

(*a*) 2 Kings v.

(*b*) Acts x.

(*c*) Acts viii. 27.

(*d*) Acts ii. 5.

try, acknowledged this God to be the only true God (*a*), ("behold, now I know, that there is no God in all the earth, but in Israel") and promised for the time to come, that he would worship none other but Jehovah (*b*). He also requested the prophet, that he might have two mules load of earth, to carry home with him from the land of Israel, most probably intending to build an altar with it in his own country; as seems indeed to be implied in the reason with which he inforces his request, "Shall there not, I pray thee, be given to thy servant two mules burden of earth: for thy servant will henceforth offer neither burnt offering, nor sacrifice to other gods, but unto Jehovah (*c*)."
This request seems to have been, partly founded on a superstitious opinion he had conceived of some peculiar holiness and virtue in the earth of the country; so that he supposed an altar built of it would be more pleasing, and render his sacrifice more acceptable, to God, than if it were made of any other materials. Perhaps he had formed this notion, upon finding such a miraculous virtue in the water of Jordan, that barely washing in it had effected his cure; and he concluded, therefore, the earth must have, likewise, some extraordinary virtue. Yet he did not conceive, this was owing to any thing peculiar in the nature of that water and that earth; but that God had miraculously infused into them this virtue; and he thought it, therefore, best to worship him at an altar of that earth, which he had peculiarly sanctified.

Or

(*a*) 2 Kings v. 15.(*b*) ver. 17.(*c*) *ubi supra*.

Or it may be, by this symbol of an altar built of the earth of the land of Israel, he meant to signify his communion with that people in the worship of the true God.

He further desired, this earth might be given him by the prophet, probably supposing, his consent, and his blessing upon it, would render it more efficacious for the acceptableness of his sacrifice, than if he had taken it without his permission.

He further says, “In this the Lord pardon thy servant, that when my master goes into the house of Rimmon, to worship there, and he leaneth upon my hand, and I bow myself in the house of Rimmon; when I bow down in the house of Rimmon, the Lord pardon thy servant in this thing (a):” which some understand to be a reserve, denoting he would renounce idolatry no further then was consistent with his worldly interest, with his princes favour, and his place at court. But if so, the prophet would hardly have dismissed him with a blessing, saying, “Go in peace (b).”

Others therefore suppose that in these words, he begs pardon for what he had done in times past, not for what he should continue to do.

They observe, that *השתחוית* *hishtachvethi*, though rendered in the future tense by the targum, and by all the ancient versions, is really the preterperfect; and they, therefore, understand it, “when I have bowed myself,” or “because I have bowed myself” in the house of Rimmon, the Lord pardon thy servant. With this sense Dr. Lightfoot agrees *, and it is

(a) ver. 18.

(b) ver. 19.

* Vid. Hor. hebr. in Luke iv. 27,

is defended by the learned Bochart in a large dissertation on the case of Naaman. Yet to me it does not seem very probable; that, if he meant this for a penitential acknowledgment of his former idolatry, he should only mention what he had done as the king's servant, and not his own voluntary worshipping the idol.

The more probable opinion, therefore, is, that he consulted the prophet, whether it was lawful for him, having renounced idolatry and publicly professed the worship of the true God, still, in virtue of his office, to attend his master in the temple of Rimmon; in order that he might lean upon him, either out of state, or perhaps out of bodily weakness; because if he attended him, as he had formerly done, he could not avoid bowing down, when he did. To this the prophet returns no direct answer; least, if on the one hand he had declared it unlawful, he should have too much discouraged this new convert, before he was well established in the true religion; or if on the other he had declared it lawful, he should seem to give countenance to idolatry. He, therefore, made no other reply, but "Go in peace."

After this we have no further mention of Naaman. But in the following account of the wars betwixt Syria and Israel, Benhadad seems to have commanded his army in person. From whence Mr. Bedford*, infers, that Naaman was dismissed from the command, for refusing to worship Rimmon. But the premisses are not sufficient to support the conclusion; for it appears

* See his scripture chronology, p. 627. edit. Lond. 1730.

appears that Benhadad had commanded his army in person twice before, once in the siege of Samaria (*a*), and once at Aphek (*b*). Yet from the total silence concerning Naaman it is probably enough conjectured, that he either died, or resigned, or was dismissed soon after his return.

Well! but though Naaman renounced idolatry, and became a worshipper of the true God; yet he could not be a Profelyte of the gate, according to the account the Talmudists give of these Profelytes, because he did not dwell in the Land of Israel, but returned into Syria. If therefore he became a Profelyte at all, it must have been a Profelyte of the covenant; though perhaps, when he lived in another country, there was no need, in order to his being an acceptable worshipper of the true God, for his submitting to the whole jewish law. We are rather therefore to account him a pious gentile, than a jewish Profelyte.

Tradition reports, that Gehazi, the prophet's servant, being struck with the leprosy, moved Naaman to erect an hospital for such unhappy persons at Damascus. Thevenot tells us, that there is such an hospital, richly endowed, just by the walls of that city, which owns Naaman for its founder*.

It may not be amiss to observe from Dr. Patrick, that Naaman's was the only miraculous cure of the leprosy, recorded in the scripture history, till Christ the great prophet came into the world. And how beneficent a miracle it was, we may conclude from the account which
Maundrell

(*a*) 1 Kings xx. 1.

(*b*) ver. 26.

* See his travels to the Levant, part 2. book 1. chap. 4.

Maundrell gives of that disease in those parts of the world*. He says, it differs much from that which is found amongst us; it defiles the whole surface of the body with a foul scurf, deforms the joints, particularly at the wrists and ankles, which swell with a gouty scrophylous substance, very loathsome to look on. The legs of those that are affected with this distemper, look like an old battered horse's; in short it may pass for the utmost corruption of the human body on this side the grave.

The next scripture instance of Profelytes of the gate, mentioned by Godwin, is Cornelius the roman centurion; whose character is, that he was "a devout man, and one that feared God with all his house, who gave alms to the people, and prayed to God always (*a*)."

Yet it is evident, he was in no sense a jewish Profelyte, because, in the account of the Jews themselves he was an unclean person, such a one, as it was not lawful for them to keep company with. Nor would Peter have gone into his house, if he had not been instructed so to do by a special revelation; which appears from the manner of his justifying this visit to Cornelius, so contrary to the received maxims of the Jews: "Ye know, saith he, that it is an unlawful thing for a man that is a Jew to keep company with, or come unto one of another nation; but God has shewed me that I should not call any man common, or unclean; therefore came I unto you without gainsaying, as soon as I was sent for (*b*)."

The jewish Christians at Jerusalem, likewise blamed Peter for this visit; "Thou wentest, say they, to men

* See his second letter to Mr. Osborn, at the end of his journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem, p. 150, 151. edit. 7. Oxford, 1749.

(*a*) Acts x. 2.

(*b*) Acts x. 28, 29.

men uncircumcised, and didst eat with them (a).” Which shows, that they did not look upon him at all as a Profelyte, for with such they might lawfully converse and eat. However he was, indeed, of the character St. Peter mentions, one “who feared God, and wrought righteousness, and was accepted of him (b);” notwithstanding he was no way related to the Jews, except in the worship of the one true God.

We may observe further, that Cornelius could not be a Profelyte of the gate, according to the Talmudists account, because the jewish nation was at that time under the roman yoke; and in these circumstances, according to them, there could be no such Profelytes. That he was not a Profelyte of the covenant, is plain, because he, and his family, and friends were the first fruits of the Gentiles. He was, therefore, in no sense a Jew, or a Profelyte.

As for the ethiopian eunuch, whom Philip converted to the faith of Christ, and baptized (c); he also, is improperly reckoned among the Profelytes of the gate, for the same reason that Naaman is, because he did not live in the land of Judea; and for the same reason that Cornelius is, because the Jews were not then their own masters, but subject to a foreign power; for at such a time, the rabbies say, there could be no Profelytes of the gate.

He seems to have been rather a Profelyte of the covenant, or compleatly a Jew; not only from his reading the scripture, but because he had taken so long a journey, to “worship at Jerusalem

(a) chap. xi. 3.
viii. 26. et seq.

(b) chap. x. 35.

(c) Acts

Jerusalem (a)," at the feast of Pentecost; one of the three grand festivals, when all the jewish males who were able, were, according to the law, to attend the worship of God at the national altar. He had taken, I say, a very long journey; for his country was doubtless the Ethiopia in Africa, where, about that time, queen Candace reigned; as we learn from Strabo*, and from Dion Cassius†, who informs us that Petronius, the prefect of Egypt, marched an army against Candace into Ethiopia, where he ravaged the country a considerable time, till the deep sands, and excessive heats, obliged him to return: which event was but about ten or eleven years before the affair, here related of the eunuch. And Pliny, speaking of that country, saith, "there reigns Candace," quod nomen multis jam annis ad reginas transiit‡.

Probably this eunuch, who was treasurer of Ethiopia, had been made a Profelyte by those Jews, who spread themselves from Alexandria in Egypt, into that country. But the present Ethiopians, or Abyssines, who are Christians of the greek church, maintain that the jewish religion was universally embraced in their country, from the days of Solomon. It hath been a constant tradition among them, that the queen of Sheba, who went to visit him, was their empress; that she had a son by him, named David; who, as soon as he was of a proper age to undertake such a journey, was sent

(a) ver. 27.

* Strabo xvii. p. 820. edit. Casaub. Paris. 1620.

† Dion. lib. liv. §. 5. tom. i. p. 734. edit. Reimari.

‡ Plin. histor. natural. lib. 6. cap. 29. in fin. vol. 1. p. 740. edit. Harduin. Paris. 1685.

sent by her to Jerusalem, to receive his father's blessing, and be instructed in the law of Moses; that being made thoroughly acquainted with the jewish religion, he was sent home, with several priests and Levites to assist him in introducing it into Ethiopia; and they were so successful in their mission, that in a few years it was embraced by the whole body of the people, and continued to be the public profession, till the promulgation of the gospel in that country.

It is a tradition, likewise, among them, that the eunuch, baptized by Philip, was steward to their empress, and that returning home, he converted his mistress, and the whole empire to the christian faith.

Though we cannot depend upon this latter story, yet it must be owned to have a far greater air of probability, than the fable of the queen of Sheba and her son, and indeed than most of the traditional stories of the first conversions of countries*.

The last instance, which Godwin produces, of Profelytes of the gate, is, "the devout men, out of every nation under heaven, who dwelt at Jerusalem," and are mentioned in the Acts (*a*). But these devout men are expressly said to be Jews; that is, Jews by religion, not by nation; for they belonged to several nations. And though they are afterwards distinguished into Jews and Profelytes (*b*), that doubtless means such as were born of jewish parents, though in a foreign country, and who had been brought up in their religion; or such as were born of gentile parents, and had become

* Geddes's church history of Ethiopia, p. 8.

(*a*) Acts ii. 5.

(*b*) ver. 10.

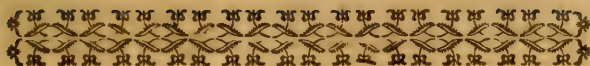
Profelytes to it. Besides, there is the same reason against acknowledging them to be Profelytes of the gate, as there is against acknowledging Cornelius and the eunuch to be such; namely, that the Jews were, at that time, subject to the roman power.

Upon the whole, there does not appear to be sufficient evidence in the scripture history of the existence of such Profelytes of the gate, as the rabbies mention; nor indeed of any, who with propriety can be stiled Profelytes, except such as fully embraced the jewish religion.

Concerning the Profelytes of the gate, vid. Maimon. de regibus, cap. viii. §. x. xi. & cap. ix. x. cum notis Leydecker. apud Crenii Fascicul. nonum, vel Leydeck. de republ. Hebræor. lib. vi. cap. vii.

Concerning the Profelytes of righteousness, vid. Maimon. de vetito concubitu, apud Leydecker, de republicâ Hebræor. lib. vi. cap. vi. p. 364. et seq. Amstel. 1704. & Selden. de jure nat. & gent. cap. ii. supra citat. & cap. iii.





C H A P. IV.

Of their K I N G S.

THE alteration made in the form of the hebrew constitution, which originally was a proper Theocracy, by setting up the regal government, hath been already considered. As it was plainly an act of rebellion against God to make any change in his original settlement, the Jews are therefore, charged with “rejecting him, that he should not reign over them, when they desired to have a king, to judge them like all the nations (*a*).” Nevertheless, as he permitted divorces “because of the hardness of their hearts (*b*);” in like manner, foreseeing the perverse disposition they would have, after their settlement in Canaan, to such an alteration, he was pleased to give them some rules, beforehand, concerning their choice of a king, and the manner of his administration (*c*). Some of the rabbies, in order to exculpate their nation from the charge of rebellion on this occasion, would have this permission and regulation

M 2

amount

(*a*) 1 Sam. viii. 5, 6, 7.
 (*c*) Deut. xvii. 14, to the end.

(*b*) Matt. xix. 8.

amount to an injunction to choose a king. Maimonides tells us *, out of the babylonish Gemara †, that Moses gave the Israelites three express commandments, to elect a king, to destroy Amalek, and to build a temple, after they were possessed of the land of Canaan. He observes, that they accordingly, chose Saul for their king, before they declared war against the Amalekites. But if this had been designed, and understood as a command, they would no doubt have chosen a king presently after their settlement in Canaan, and not have delayed it for upwards of three hundred years ‡. We cannot suppose, but Samuel would have put them upon choosing a king in obedience to the law of God, long before they desired one; and not have blamed them, as he did, when they expressed that desire (*a*). Many of the rabbies are, therefore, of a contrary opinion §; and so is Josephus, who imputes this desire of a kingly government || to the intolerable corruption which had crept into all the courts
of

* De regibus, cap. 1. ab init.

† Sanhedrin, cap. 23. in excerptis Cocceii, cap. xi. §. 6.

‡ Si petitio regis absolutè, inquit Abarbanel, fuit legitima, & præceptum legis, & non peccatum fuit, nisi in modo petendi, vel in fine, tempore, aut intentione ejus; quare Joshua & cæteri judices Israelis, ipsum secuti, nunquam cogitarunt de rege in Israele constituendo, cum hoc ipsius præceptum esset, quum ingrederentur terram? Quomodo omnes transgressi sunt hoc præceptum, cum essent in terrâ post ejus occupationem & divisionem? Nullum hæcenus interpretum vidi, qui de hoc egerit, & ad hoc aliquid responderit. Abarbanel. disert. 2 de statu & jure regio, ad calcem Buxtorfii dissertationum, p. 427. edit. Basil. 1662.

(*a*) 1 Sam. x. 19.

§. Vid. Abarbanel. ubi supra, p. 424. & seq.

|| Agreeably to 1 Sam. viii. 5.

of justice through the baseness and avarice of Samuel's two sons *. And he introduces his account of the regulations in Deuteronomy concerning their kings, with observing, that they ought not to have affected any other government, but to have loved the present; having the law for their master, and living according to it; for it was sufficient that God was their ruler †. That their desire of a king was displeasing to God, seems also to be intimated in the prophecy of Hosea, "I gave thee a king in mine anger, and took him away in my wrath (a) :—" Referring to Saul, the first king, on occasion of whose election God expressed his displeasure by terrible thunder (b); and to Zedekiah, the last king, whom he suffered, together with his subjects, to be carried captive to Babylon. Maimonides indeed, pretends, that the sin, for which the people were reproved by Samuel, did not consist in their desiring a king, but in their coming to him in a tumultuous and disrespectful manner, and asking a king, not in obedience to the divine command, but because they disdained his government ‡. This, however, is by no means agreeable to the scripture account, which evidently lays the blame on the desiring a king §, not on the manner, in which that desire was expressed: "The thing displeased Samuel, when they said, give us a king to judge us. And Samuel prayed

M 3

unto

* Antiq. lib. vi. cap. iii. §. 3. edit. Haverc.

† lib. iv. cap. viii. §. 17.

(a) Hof. xiii. 11.

(b) 1 Sam. xii. 17, 18.

‡ de regibus, cap. i. §. 2.

§ In redargutione Samuelis, inquit Abarbanel, semper attribuitur peccatum petitioni regis absolute, &c. Ubi supra, p. 427.

unto the Lord. And the Lord said unto Samuel, hearken unto the voice of the people in all that they say unto thee; for they have not rejected thee, but they have rejected me, that I should not reign over them *(a)*.” The law therefore in the seventeenth chapter of Deuteronomy, must be looked upon, not as a command, nor hardly as a permission, to choose a king *; for if they had supposed it to amount even to a permission, no doubt they would have alledged it to Samuel; nor is it easy to see, how their “wickedness would, then, have been so great in asking a king,” as it is represented to be. It must be considered, therefore, rather as a restraining law, that in case they would have a king, it should be under such limitations, as God then prescribed. Which are the eight following,

1st, That the choice of the person to be their king, God would reserve to himself. They must not say, “I will set a king over me, like as all the nations that are round about me; but thou shalt in any wise set him king over thee, whom the Lord thy God will chuse *(b)*.” Accordingly, he appointed Saul, by lot, to be their first king *(c)*; and David, by name, to be their second king *(d)*. He likewise chose Solomon to be David’s successor *(e)*; and, after him, he made the kingly government hereditary in David’s family *(f)*. Nevertheless, this
divine

(a) 1 Sam. viii. 6, 7.

* Abarbanel makes several judicious observations, to show it was no command, in his dissertation above quoted, p. 436. & seq.

(b) Deut. xvii. 14, 15

(c) 1 Sam. x. 21.

(d) 1 Sam. xvi. 12.

(e) 1 Chron. xxviii. 5.

(f) 1 Kings ii. 4.

divine choice and appointment only restrained the people from making any other person king than him whom God had nominated; but it did not actually invest him with the regal authority; that was done by an act of the people *. Thus, after God had appointed David to be king, in token of which he had been anointed by Samuel (*a*); yet the men of Judah anointed him king over the house of Judah; whereby they declared their concurrence, and acceptance of him for their king (*b*). And upon the death of Solomon, though the crown was then hereditary, “all Israel came to Shechem to make his son Rehoboam king (*c*).”

2dly, The king must be a native Israelite, not a Heathen, nor a Profelyte. “One from among thy brethren shalt thou set over thee; thou mayest not set a stranger over thee, who is not thy brother (*d*).” It may naturally be enquired, what occasion was there for this limitation, when God had reserved the choice of the person to himself. I answer, more effectually to unite the people against any foreign invader, and any one who might attempt to seize the crown. The Mishna relates †, that when king Agrippa, an idumean profelyte, met with this text, as he was reading in publick, he burst into tears, because he was not of the seed of Israel. The people, however, encouraged him,

M 4. crying

* Per “ponere regem,” inquit Abarbanel, intelligitur ejus constitutio per populum; sed electio divina facta fuit per prophetam, mediante unctione. Abarbanel. dissert. 3. p. 451. ad calcem Buxtorf. dissert. philolog. theolog. edit. Basil. 1662.

(*a*) 1 Sam. xvi. 13. (*b*) 2 Sam. ii. 4. (*c*) 1 Kings xii. 1. (*d*) Deut. xvii. 14. 15.

† Mish in Sota, five de uxore adulterii suspecta, cap. 7. §. 8. edit. Surenhusii, tom. 3. p. 268.

crying out, Fear not Agrippa, thou art our brother: probably, because the children of Esau, from whom the Idumeans are descended, are called, in Deuteronomy the brethren of the Jews (*a*)."

3dly, The king was not to multiply horses; and is particularly forbid, therefore, sending to Egypt for them (*b*); where was the chief breed of those animals in that part of the world. The Egyptian cavalry, which invaded Judea in the reign of Rehoboam, consisted of twelve hundred chariots, and sixty thousand horsemen (*c*). The reason of the king's being prohibited to multiply horses, hath been commonly thought to be, to restrain him from affecting unnecessary pomp, expensive to himself, and burdensome to his people. If so, Solomon was egregiously guilty of transgressing this law; who had horses brought out of Egypt (*d*); and, according to the account in the first book of Kings, had forty thousand stalls of horses for his chariots, and twelve thousand horsemen (*e*); or, according to the lower account in Chronicles, four thousand stalls for horses and chariots, and twelve thousand horsemen (*f*). Perhaps, these two accounts are best reconciled by allowing ten horses to each stall mentioned in Chronicles. Or, the word signifying either stable or stall, in Chronicles it may mean the former; in Kings, the latter*.

Dr. Warburton, in his divine legation of Moses, supposes it was the true and sole design of this law, to forbid the Jews the use of cavalry in their

(*a*) Deut. ii. 4. (*b*) Deut. xvii. 16. (*c*) 2 Chron. xii. 2, 3. (*d*) 1 Kings x. 28. (*e*) 1 Kings iv. 26. (*f*) 2 Chron. ix. 25.

* Stockii Clavis in verb;

their armies ; which he says, God did on purpose to make it manifest, that he protected that nation by a special providence *. If so, Solomon does not seem to have violated this law so grossly, as hath been commonly imagined ; for though he kept such a multitude of chariots for state, and had twelve thousand horsemen for his lifeguard ; yet it does not appear, that he had any cavalry designed for war.

4thly, The king is forbidden “ multiply-
ing wives to himself, that his heart turn not
away (a).” The most natural exposition of
which law is, that it prohibits polygamy, or
having more wives than one. For it is not
here said, “ He shall not greatly multiply,” as
it is in the next clause, concerning silver and
gold ; but simply, “ he shall not multiply.”
The rabbies, indeed, enlarge the number of
wives, allowed the king to eighteen ; and un-
derstand the law as only forbidding his having
more † : which they attempt to ground on Da-
vid’s having six wives, a list of whom we have
in the second book of Samuel (b) ; compared
with what the prophet afterwards tells him,
that if he had not offended God, he “ would
moreover have given him such and such
things (c) ; which they interpret of twice as many
wives

* Sensus est, inquit Abarbanel, regem sibi non debere multiplicare equos ex terra vel sua vel aliorum ; neque considerare suæ multitudini & potentia, non equis & equitibus numerosis, sed unicam suam fiduciam debere esse Deum. Ubi supra, p. 440.

(a) Deut. xvii. 17.

† Mish. Sanhedrin, cap. 2. §. 4. tom. 4. p. 217. edit. Surenhus. & Gemar. in excerptis Cocceii, cap. 2. §. 8.

(b) chap. iii. 2,—5.

(c) chap. xii. 8.

wives more ; in all eighteen *. And in their opinion no king should have a greater number than God would have allowed David. Solomon, without doubt, heinously transgressed this law ; who had seven hundred wives and three hundred concubines (*a*). And the sad effect was, what this law was intended to prevent, that they “ turned away his heart from God.”

5thly, The king is also forbid, “ greatly to multiply to himself silver and gold (*b*).” This Solomon did in a remarkable manner ; for it is said, that “ the weight of gold, that came to him in one year, was six hundred threescore and six talents ; besides what he received from the merchantmen, and in particular from the traffick of the spice merchants, and from the kings of Arabia, and from the governors of the country ; and that, besides a vast quantity of targets and shields all of beaten gold, and a throne overlaid with gold, all his drinking vessels, and all the vessels of the house of the forest of Lebanon were of this precious metal, silver being in Jerusalem in a manner as plenty as stones, and little esteemed in his days (*c*).” Notwithstanding no particular reason is given for this prohibition of multiplying silver and gold, we may easily conceive, the design of it was, partly to prevent the kings oppressing the people with taxes, in order to enrich himself ; as seems to have been done by Rehoboam, whose treasurer the people, therefore, stoned (*d*) : and partly to restrain him from Luxury, the common effect of riches ; lest the king’s example

* R. Ob. de Bartenora in Mish. capite supra citato, p. 118.

(*a*) 1 Kings xi. 3. (*b*) Deut. xvii. 17. (*c*) 1 Kings x. 14,—27. (*d*) 1 Kings xii. 18.

ample should debauch and infeeble the nation, and prove its ruin; as the wealth, and consequent luxury of the Persians, proved the destruction of their empire. The rabbies indeed observe, that this law forbids only the kings multiplying gold and silver to himself, or to his own private coffers, but not to the publick treasury, or for national exigencies *.

6thly, The king is enjoined to write for himself a copy of the law in a book out of that which is before the priests and levites (a); that is, from the authentic copy kept in the sanctuary. Interpreters differ about the meaning of the word מִשְׁנֶה mishne, which we render a copy. The seventy translate it *το δευτερονομιον*, and the vulgate deuteronomium, that translation generally following the version of the seventy. From whence some have imagined that the king was obliged to transcribe only the book of Deuteronomy †. Montanus renders it *duplum*; which version agrees with Maimonides's interpretation of this law, that "the king was to write the book of the law for himself, beside the book that was left him by his father; and if his father had left him none, or if that were lost, he was to write him two books of the law ‡, the one he was to keep in his archives, the other was not to depart from him; unless when he went to his throne, or to the

* Maimon. de regibus, cap. iii. §. 4. Mishn. Sanhedrin, cap. 2 §. 4. & Maimon. in loc. tom. 4. p. 218. edit. Surenhus.

(a) Deut. xvii. 18.

† Vid. Abarbanel. comment. in loc. five dissert. ubi supra, p. 441.

‡ This was likewise the opinion of many other jewish doctors. Vid. Carpzev. annot. ad Schickard. jus reg. p. 82.

the bath, or to a place where reading would be inconvenient. If he went to war, it accompanied him; if he sat in judgment, it was to be by him *." But the word does not import any more than a single exemplar or copy †. Joshua is said to have engraved on the stones, which he erected on mount Ebal, a copy of the law, מִשְׁנֶה mishne; a second, of which the autograph was the first ‡. The design of this precept was, undoubtedly, to rivet the divine laws more firmly in the memory of the kings; of which, and of their obligations to observe them, they became, through the neglect of this precept, so ignorant in the days of good king Josiah, that he was strangely surprized at what he heard read out of this book of the law § when it was found in the temple, after he had reigned about eighteen years (a).

7thly, The king was bound to govern by law: For it is enjoined him, that he read in this

* De regibus, lib. iii. §. 1.

† And so the Mishna understands it, Sanhedrin, cap. 2.

§. 9.

‡ Vid. Leidecker. not. ad Maimon. de regibus, lib. ii. §. 1.

§ It is the opinion of Abarbanel, that this book was the autograph of Moses, which no doubt was a discovery, that would occasion equal pleasure and surprize. To confirm this opinion, Leusden observes, that תּוֹרָה *thorah*, having the He emphatic prefixed in 2 Kings xxii. 11. signifieth that very book of the law which was wrote בִּיד מֹשֶׁה *bejadh Moseh*, by the hand of Moses, as it is expressed in the parallel place in Chronicles, which Dr. Kennicott observes is a phrase which only occurs there, and naturally means one particular MS. namely the original. Leusd. Philolog. Hebræo. mixt. dissert. xxvi. §. xv. p. 175. edit. 2. Kennicott's second dissert. on the Heb. text, p. 299, 300. See also Leland's answer to Christianity as old as the creation, vol. 2. chap. 4. p. 123,—126. Dublin edit. 1733.

(a) 2 Chron. xxxiv. 18, & seq.

this copy of the law all the days of his life, that he may learn to fear the Lord his God, to keep all the words of this law, and these statutes, to do them (*a*). Instead of making his own will his law, as the absolute monarchs of the East generally did, he was to rule according to the law which God had given by Moses. When, Samuel, therefore told the people the manner, מִשְׁפָּט *mishpat*, of the king that should reign over them (*b*), describing a most arbitrary and tyrannical one, who would take their sons, and appoint them for himself, for his chariots, &c. we must not understand him here, as some do, to lay down the rightful authority of the king of Israel, but only the practice of the arbitrary monarchs around them, (for they had desired to have a king like the neighbouring nations (*c*),) in order to divert them from so injudicious and ill-advised a project *. Accordingly מִשְׁפָּט *mishpat*, is better rendered manner in our english version, than *jus* in the vulgate, and *δικαιοσυνη* in the septuagint. In some other places the word signifies merely a manner, or custom, without implying any legal right. Thus Joseph interprets the dream of Pharaoh's butler, that he should again deliver the cup into his sovereign's hand, after the "former manner," when he was in office (*d*). Again, David is said to have destroyed all the inhabitants of the places on which he made inroads, while he was with Achish

(*a*) Deut. xvii. 19. (*b*) 1 Sam. viii. 11. (*c*) ver. 5.

* This is the opinion of Abarbanel, who quotes with approbation the following decision of rabbi Jehuda, "lita (de jure & judicio regis) non fuerunt dicta, nisi ad eos perterrefaciendos." Ubi supra, p. 446.

(*d*) Gen. xl. 13.

Achish king of Gath, lest any of them should report, so did David, and so will be "his manner" all the time that he dwelleth in the country of the Philistines (*a*). Nay the word is used even for a very corrupt and illegal custom. And "the priests custom with the people was," as the expression is in relation to a very unjustifiable practise of Eli's sons (*b*).

That the king was bound by law, appears from the story of Ahab, who desired to purchase Naboth's vineyard; yet because the law forbade the alienation of lands from one tribe or family to another, he could not obtain it, till he had got Naboth condemned and executed for blasphemy and treason: whereupon his estate became forfeited to the crown; or the king, however, seized it (*c*). From hence it appears, that the hebrew monarch was only God's viceroy or lieutenant, governing in all respects by his laws, which he could not alter, under pretext of amending or improving, nor abrogate or repeal on account of any pretended or apprehended inconvenience arising from them; and in matters of importance, when the law was not clear and certain, he was not to enact and determine by his own authority, but to consult the oracle, or God himself.

8thly, The king is charged to be humble, and to govern his subjects with lenity and kindness, not as slaves, but as brethren (*d*). Thus David, addressing himself to his subjects, styles them his brethren, as well as his people (*e*). The first christian emperors imitated this example

(*a*) 1 Sam. xxvii. 11. (*b*) 1 Sam. ii. 13. (*c*) 1 Kings xxi. 1,—16. (*d*) Deut. xvii. 20. (*e*) 1 Chron. xxviii. 2.

ample of the hebrew kings; particularly Constantine the great, who in his epistle to the people of Antioch styles them, his brethren whom he was bound to love *. And he concludes his letter to Eusebius with these words, ὁ θεος σε διαφυλαξοι, ἀδελφε ἀγαπῆτε, may God preserve you, beloved brother †. Other instances of the like sort may be found in Eusebius's ecclesiastical history ‡; and in his life of Constantine §.

Having considered the form of the kingly government, we proceed to the rites of inauguration, by which the person whom God had appointed to that office, was actually invested with the royal dignity.

First, he was anointed. Godwin, following the talmudical rabbies ||, asserts, that all kings were not anointed; but those only in whom the succession was broken; and then the first of the family was anointed for his successors, except in cases of dissention, when there was required a renewed unction, for the confirmation of his authority. They say therefore, Solomon, as well as his father David, was anointed (a) because of the dispute betwixt Adonijah and him, concerning the succession to the crown; and likewise

* Euseb. de vit. Constant. lib. iii. cap. 60.

† Ibid. cap. 61.

‡ Lib. x. cap. 5 & 7.

§ Lib. ii. cap. 46. & lib. iii. cap. 20.

|| Maimon. de regibus, cap. i. §. x, xii. & comment. in Mishn. tit. Cherithoth, cap. i. & Bartenor. in eundem loc. tom. 5. p. 237. edit. Surenhus. See testimonies out of the Talmud and other authors in Selden de Success. in Pontificat. lib. ii. cap. ix. apud opera, vol. 2. tom. 3. p. 192, 193.

(a) 1 Kings i 39.

likewise Joash the son of Ahaziah (*a*), because the succession had been interrupted by Athaliah's usurpation. But this opinion has no sufficient foundation in the sacred history; on the contrary it seems more probable, that all kings were anointed; because king, and the anointed, seem in the following passages to be synonymous terms: "He shall give strength unto his king, and exalt the horn of his anointed (*b*):" and again, "David said unto him," that is, to the Amalekite who informed him that he had killed Saul, "how wast thou not afraid to stretch forth thy hand to destroy the Lord's anointed (*c*)?" And in his lamentation on this occasion he hath these expressions, "The shield of the mighty is vilely cast away, the shield of Saul, as though he had not been anointed with oil (*d*)."
 These last words lose in a manner all their emphasis, supposing that no kings were anointed, except the first of a family, or only in case the right of succession to the crown was uncertain. Nay, it should seem from this passage, that those kings whose right of succession was doubtful, which had occasioned their being anointed, were on this supposition more sacred than others. Further, we read that Jehoahaz, the son of Josiah, when he was made king in his father's stead, was anointed (*e*), though there does not appear to have been any doubt, or dispute, about the succession.

The hebrew doctors represent it to be the peculiar privilege of the kings of the family of David, to be anointed with the same holy oil,
 which

(*a*) 2 Kings xi. 12.
 i. 14. (*d*) ver. 21.

(*b*) 1 Sam. ii. 10.

(*c*) 2 Sam.

(*e*) 2 Kings xxiii. 30.

which was used in the consecration of the high-priest; and tells us, that the kings of the ten tribes were anointed with common oil *. But this opinion is hardly to be reconciled to a passage in the book of Exodus, where the use of the holy oil is appropriated to the consecration of Aaron and his sons, and the anointing any other person with it is expressly prohibited (*a*). They pretend that a dispensation for the use of the holy oil, to anoint the kings, was afterward revealed to some prophet; but of this they produce no sort of evidence. It appears, indeed, that the oil with which Solomon was anointed, was taken out of the tabernacle (*b*). But that might as well be common oil, a considerable quantity of which was kept there for the use of the lamps, and which Zadoc the priest might have readier at hand on this occasion than any other. However the following passage in the Psalms is alledged in favour of the opinion, that kings were anointed with the holy oil; "I have found David my servant, with my holy oil have I anointed him (*c*)."

But, as the person, there spoken of under the name of David *, undoubtedly means Christ, to whom alone a great part of what is said in that context will agree; therefore by the holy oil must be understood the influence of the divine spirit, which was "given to him without measure

N

* Talmud. Cherithoth, cap. 3. vid. Hottinger. de jure Hebræor leg. cix. p. 138. See also Schickard de jure regio, cap. 1. theor. iv. §. 29. p. 78, 79. edit. Carpzov. Lipsiæ, 1674.

(*a*) Exod. xxx. 31, 32.

(*b*) 1 Kings i. 39.

(*c*) Psal. lxxxix. 20.

† It ought constantly to be remembered here, that David in the Hebrew signifies a person beloved, which evidently agrees to the Messiah.

ture (a)." And even if we suppose here is an allusion to the anointing of David, the jewishi king; yet the oil used on the occasion, might possibly be stiled holy, not because it was of that peculiar composition prescribed in the thirtieth chapter of Exodus, but because it was typical of the influence of the holy Spirit.

We read of two different sorts of vessels, in which the oil wherewith kings were anointed; was contained; the one called פך pack, which we translate a vial (b); the other called קרן keren, a horn (c). Concerning the difference betwixt these two vessels there are various conjectures. Some make it to lie in the matter of which they were formed; apprehending the פך pack, was made of metal, either gold or silver; and the קרן keren, of horn. Others place the difference in the shape; and tell us that the קרן keren, was like an horn, and the פך, like a bottle. Others conceive the difference lay in the capacity of the vessels, and that the קרן keren, contained a larger, the פך pack, a smaller quantity. The rabbies make the anointing with the oil out of one or the other of these vessels, to be ominous of a longer or shorter reign. Accordingly they tell us that Saul and Jehu were anointed out of the פך pack (d), to denote the shortness of their reigns; but David and Solomon out of the קרן keren

(a) John iii. 34.

(b) 1 Sam. x. 1.

(c) 1 Kings i. 39.

(d) 1 Sam. x. 1. 2 Kings ix. 3. in the former of which texts pack is rendered in our english version, a vial; in the latter, a box.

C. IV. Inauguration of kings. 179

ren (*a*), to denote the long succession of David's family *. But these are meer conjectures.

It is further enquired, whose office and proper business it was to anoint the king? since we read of the ceremony's being performed by prophets, and by priests:—by prophets; as by Samuel, who anointed Saul, and David; and by one of the sons of the prophets, who was sent by Elisha to anoint Jehu (*b*):—by priests, as by Zadoc at the inauguration of Solomon, and by Jehoiada at the coronation of Joash (*c*). Here some distinguish between private and public anointing; the former, they suppose, was before the inauguration, and betokened the person's advancement to the throne sometime afterwards, which, they say, was performed by a prophet. The latter was at the time of the inauguration; and this, they say, was performed by the priest; as in the case of Solomon and Joash †.

As to the manner of performing this ceremony, all the account we have in scripture is, that the oil was poured upon the head. When Samuel anointed Saul, he “took a vial of oil, and poured it on his head (*d*).” And when the prophet anointed Jehu, it is said, he poured the oil on his head (*e*). From hence it seems probable, that the kings were anointed in the same plentiful manner, as the priests were at their consecration; the ointment or oil, was poured upon the head in such a quantity, as to

N 2

run

(*a*) 1 Sam. xvi. 13. and 1 Kings i. 39.

* R. David Kimchi in 2 Reg. ix. See Schickard de jure regio, cap. 1. theor. iv. p. 79. Gemara tit. Cherithoth. See Carpzov. not. (m) in loc. Schickard. jam citat.

(*b*) 2 Kings ix. at the beginning. (*c*) 2 Kings xi. 12.

† Vid. Scacchi Myrothecium iii. cap. xlix. l. p. 1060 & seq. edit. Amstel. 1701.

(*d*) 1 Sam. x. 1.

(*e*) 2 Kings ix. 6.

run down upon the beard; and even to the skirts, or rather the collar, of the garment; for so *גַּל-פִּי מִדּוֹתָיו* *gnal-pi middothaiv*, means in the following passage of the Psalmist, "It" (that is, brethren's dwelling together in unity) "is like the precious ointment upon the head, that ran down upon the beard, even Aaron's beard, that went down, *gnal-pi middothaiv*, to the skirts, or the collar, of his garments (*a*)."
pi signifying the hole in the midst of the robe of the Ephod through which the head was put, and which was bound about, that it might not be rent (*b*). The Jewish doctors, however, inform us of a difference betwixt the manner of anointing a king, and a priest; that the priest was anointed in the form of a Greek Chi, or St. Andrew's cross; and the king, in the form of a circle round his head*; and likewise, that the king must be anointed in the open air, and near a fountain; which they ground upon the history of Solomon's being brought to Gihon, which was a fountain, or brook, near Jerusalem, and there anointed by Zadoc (*c*)†. But from that particular circumstance in Solomon's inauguration, I see no reason to conclude it to have been a law for all succeeding kings to be anointed at fountains. The Talmudists indeed find

(*a*) Psal. cxxxiii. 2. (*b*) Exod. xxxix. 22, 23.

* Obadiah de Bartenora, & Maimon. in Mishn. tit. Cherithoth, cap. i. tom. 5. p. 237. edit. Surenhus. See passages of other authors in Selden de Success. in Pontificat. lib. ii. cap. ix. apud opera, vol. 2. tom. 3. p. 193,—195.

(*c*) 1 Kings i. 38.

† Vid. Maimon. de regibus, cap. i. §. xi. and a remarkable passage out of the Jerusalem and Babylonish Talmud, apud Schickard. jus regium Hebræor. & Carpovii notas, p. 71, 72. edit. Lips. 1674.

C. IV. Inauguration of kings. 181

find a mystery in the king's being anointed by a fountain, as if it were intended to signify the desired perpetuity of his kingdom, or that it might continue like a fountain, which runs perpetually, and is never dry *.

We have only one remark more to make on this head; and that is, that the custom of consecrating of any thing to God by a profusion of oil upon it, appears to have been very ancient, from the instance of Jacob's anointing the pillar at Beth-el (*a*). But when it began, and how it was first introduced, we cannot so much as guess, any further, then that probably, it was by a divine institution. We find it in use, through the whole mosaick dispensation, in the dedication both of men and things to the immediate service of God. It was designed as emblematical of the gifts and graces of the spirit of God, which are therefore expressed by unction in the New Testament (*b*). And as Christ excelled all others in these gifts and graces, he was eminently called משיח Mashiach, or MESSIAS, from משה Mashach, to anoint. Which title is also given, in a lower sense, to the priests (*c*), and also to the kings of Israel (*d*).

We proceed now to the second ceremony at the inauguration of a king, which was crowning him. There is a reference to it in these words of the Psalmist, "Thou preventest him, (that is, the king) with the blessings of goodness, Thou settest a crown of pure gold on his head (*e*)."

N 3

And

* The Talmud referred to above; and Ralbag and Abarbanel in 1 Kings i. 33. with other rabbinical commentators, apud Carpzov. notas, ubi supra.

(*a*) Gen. xxviii. 18.

(*b*) 1 John ii. 20, 27.

(*c*) Lev. iv. 3.

(*d*) 1 Sam. xii. 3, 5.

(*e*) Psal. xxi. 3.

And we read expressly of its being performed at the inauguration of king Joash (*a*). What the form of the royal crown was we do not pretend to determine; only observing, that the word נֶזֶר *nezer*, by which it is expressed, being used for the high-priest's crown (*b*), which was merely a fillet or ribband bound round the head with a plate of gold on the front of it (*c*); it is probable, the royal crown was much of the same shape, or like the diadem which we see on the heads of the ancient roman kings on their medals. It seems to have been the custom of the jewish kings, as well as those of the neighbouring nations, to wear their crown constantly when they were dressed. King Saul had his crown on, when he was slain in the battle of Gilboa (*d*); and the king of the Ammonites, when he headed his army in war; for when David had reduced Rabbah, the royal city, he took the king's crown from his head, and put it on his own (*e*). From this custom it may reasonably be inferred, that the ancient crowns were much less in size and weight, than those which are now used by the european kings. Yet the crown of the king of the Ammonites, just mentioned, is said to "weigh a talent of gold, with the precious stones (*f*)."
Now a talent being reckoned to be one hundred and twenty-five pounds, such an enormous load on the head no man can be supposed to have carried, as a part of his ordinary dress. Bochart apprehends with great probability, that the word מִשְׁקַל *mishkal*, denotes,

(*a*) 2 Kings xi. 12. (*b*) Exod xxix. 6. (*c*) Exod. xxviii. 36, 37. (*d*) 2 Sam. i. 10. (*e*) 2 Sam. xii. 30.
(*f*) *ubi supra*.

C. IV. Inauguration of kings. 183

notes, not the weight, but the value of the crown *; for though the verb שקל shakal, in the Hebrew, like pendere in the Latin, related originally to weight; by which, before the invention of coins, metals were exchanged in traffick; yet, as we have shown in our lectures on medals, this word came afterwards to be applied to the payment of money, when the custom of weighing it was laid aside. Thus the septuagint renders שקל shakal, by τιμην, estimate, in the fifty-fifth chapter of Isaiah and the second verse; and accordingly the noun משקל mishkal, may properly denote, not the weight of the crown, but its value, by reason of the jewels that were set in it. Our translators, it seems, with several other learned men, suppose an enalogue numeri in the text; it being in the Hebrew וַאֲבֵן יְקָרָה veeben jokrah, and a precious stone. Which however, the Jews interpret more literally, of one jewel only; and this, rabbi Kimchi tells us, was a magnet, by means of which this weighty crown was so supported in the air as to be no load to the man that wore it. But the conceit, of a magnet's being attracted by the air, is a piece of philosophy worthy only of a jewish rabbi. Josephus says this jewel was a Sardonyx †. Which notion, Bochart conjectures, might arise from the ancient Jews playing, in their manner, with the phrase עֹטֶרֶת מַלְכֶם gnatereth malcam, the crown of their king. The word מַלְכֶם malcam, having the same letters with מִלְכֶם milcom, the name of the god of the Ammonites, they made the expression to signify

N 4

nify

* Hieroz. part. 1. lib. 2. cap. 38.

† Antiq. lib. vii. cap. 7. in fine. edit. Haverc.

nify the crown of that god, who is otherwise called Moloch; and Moloch it seems, or Molocas, is the eastern name of the Sardonyx; for Epiphanius* speaking of the Sardius adds, *εσι δε και αλλος (λιθος) Σαρδονυξ, ος καλεται Μολοχας*†.

The third ceremony at the inauguration of a king was the kiss of homage, which the Jews call the kiss of majesty. With respect to Saul we are informed, that “Samuel took a vial of oil, and poured it on his head, and kissed him (*a*).” This ceremony is probably alluded to in the following passage of the Psalmist, “Kiss the son, lest he be angry, &c (*b*).” that is, acknowledge him as your king, pay him homage, and yield him subjection.

Fourthly, The acclamations of the people attended the ceremony of inauguration. Thus in the case of Saul, we are informed, that “all the people shouted and said, God save the king (*c*).” And when Zadock anointed Solomon, “they blew the trumpet and said, God save king Solomon (*d*).”

It may be proper also to mention, under this head, the royal robes, which, probably, were put on the king at his coronation. These, no doubt, were very rich and splendid, as may be concluded from our Saviour’s declaring, in order to set forth the beauty which God had imparted to the lilies of the field, that “even Solomon in all his glory, was not arrayed like one of these (*e*).” This allusion is the more apposite,

* De duodecim gemmis in veste Aaronis, cap. 1. apud opera, tom. 2. p. 225, 226. edit. Petav. Colon. 1682.

† See Bochart. Hieroz. part. 2. lib. 5. cap. 7.

(*a*) 1 Sam. x. 1. (*b*) Psal. ii. 12. (*c*) 1 Sam. x.
24. (*d*) 1 Kings i. 39. (*e*) Matt. vi. 29.

C. IV. Inauguration of kings. 185

site, if as Josephus saith, Solomon was usually clothed in white *. And on this supposition, it is probable, this was the colour of the royal robes of his successors. But it being likewise the colour of the priests garments, the difference betwixt them must be supposed to lie in the richness of the stuff they were made of. Upon this notion, that the ancient jewish kings wore white garments, the rabbies call persons of distinguished birth and high rank חורים chorim, albat, in opposition to those of obscure birth and mean condition, whom they call חשוכים chashuchim, tenebrosi, obscuri. To this distinction St. James is supposed to allude (a), when he saith, if there come into your assembly a man εν εδωτι λαμπρα, which some render in a white garment; and a poor man εν εδωτι ρυπαρα, in a dark or dirty one. This criticism, however, wants a better support, than the opinion of Josephus and the rabbies concerning the colour of the robes of the jewish kings; it being certain that the word λαμπρος is applied by the greek writers to any gay colour. Thus Plutarch saith †, that weak eyes are offended προς απαν το λαμπρον. And Xenophon applies the word to such as are clothed in purple, or who are adorned with bracelets and jewels, and splendidly dressed ‡. In the book of the Revelation λαμπρος is used to signify the brightness or splendor of the morning star (b); and likewise in general, such things as are pleasant

* Antiq. lib. viii. cap. vii. §. 3. tom. i. p. 440. edit. Haverc.

(a) James ii. 2.

† citat. à Stephano.

‡ Cyropæd. lib. 2. p. 115, & 117. edit. Hutch. 1738.

(b) Rev. xxii. 16.

fant and agreeable to the sight. Thus in the prophetic doom of the great city Babylon it is said, "all things which were dainty and goodly, τα λιπαρά, και τα λαμπρά, are departed from thee (a);" that is, the things, which St. John elsewhere expresses by "the lust of the flesh, and the lust of the eyes (b)." Our author's conjecture, therefore, that the roman soldiers putting a purple, and Herod a white, garment on Christ, when in derision they clothed him as a king, was in conformity to the customs of their respective countries; is very pretty and ingenious, but not sufficiently supported; it being far from certain, that white was the royal colour amongst the Jews. Something, however, concerning the ceremonies used at the inauguration of their kings, in the latter ages of their polity, may be conjectured with probability from the mock ceremonies, which were paid to our blessed Saviour (c).

It may not be improper to add a few words concerning the state and grandeur of the jewish monarchs: which consisted, partly, in the profound respect that was paid them; of which we have many instances in their history; and, partly, in their attendants and guards; particularly the Cherethites and Pelethites, of whom we have frequent mention in the histories of David and Solomon. That they were soldiers, appears from their making part of David's army, when he marched out of Jerusalem on occasion of Absalom's conspiracy (d); and likewise when they were sent against the rebel, Sheba the son of Bichri (e). That they were a
distinct

(a) Rev. xviii. 14.

(b) 1 John ii. 16.

(c) See Matt. xxvii. 29.

(d) 2 Sam. xv. 18.

(e) chap. xx. 7.

C. IV. State and grandeur of kings. 187

distinct corps from the common soldiers, is evident from their having a peculiar commander, and not being under Joab the general of the army (*a*). They seem, therefore, to have been the king's body-guard like the Prætorian band among the Romans. The Cherethites were originally Philistines (*b*), who were skilful archers; and it is therefore, supposed, that after the Israelites had suffered so much by the Philistine archers at the fatal battle of Gilboa (*c*), David, not only took care to have his people instructed in the use of the bow (*d*), but having made peace with the Philistines, hired a body of these archers; (it may be with a view of instructing his own people,) and made them his guards. With these were joined the Pelethites; who are supposed to have been native Israelites, for we find two of the name of Peleth among the jewish families; one of the tribe of Reuben (*e*), another of the tribe of Judah (*f*). The Chaldee paraphrase every where calls the Cherethites and Pelethites, archers and slingers. Their number may probably be gathered from the targets and shields of gold, which Solomon made for his guards; which were five hundred (*g*).

As an article of the state and magnificence of the jewish kings, it may be proper to mention Solomon's royal throne, which was raised
on

(*a*) 2 Sam. viii. 16, 18.

(*b*) See 1 Sam. xxx. 14, & 16. compared, and Zeph. ii.

5.

(*c*) 1 Sam. xxxi. 3. (*d*) 2 Sam. i. 18. (*e*) Numb.

xvi. 1. (*f*) 1 Chron. ii. 33.

(*g*) See 1 Kings x. 16, 17. compared with 2 Chron. xii.

188 State and grandeur of kings. B. I.
on six steps, adorned with the images of lions,
and overlaid with ivory and gold (a).

The last honours paid the king, were at his death. It is said, the royal corpse was carried by nobles to the Sepulchre, though it were at a very considerable distance *. However this be, we read of publick mourning observed for good kings (b). Yet, notwithstanding this royal state and grandeur, they were only God's viceroy, bound to govern according to the statute law of the land, which they, as well as their subjects, were required to obey. The rabbies tell us, that their violation of some laws was punished with whipping by order of the Sanhedrim. An account, which is so utterly improbable, especially as not a single instance can be produced of this punishment being inflicted, that it would not deserve to be mentioned, were it not espoused by such learned men as Selden †, Schickard ‡, and Grotius §. Besides what hath been observed against this notion by Leusden || and

(a) 1 Kings x. 18,—20.

* Schickard. *jus regium*, cap. vi. theor. xix. p. 415,—417. edit. Carpzov. Lipsiæ, 1674.

(b) 2 Chron. xxxv. 24. See also Jerem. xxii. 18. and xxxiv. 5.

† Selden. *de Synedr.* lib. ii. cap. ix. §. v. apud opera, vol. 1. tom. 2. p. 1437. though afterwards, having recited the arguments on both sides, he expresseth himself more doubtfully, lib. iii. cap. ix. §. v. in fine.

‡ Schickard. *de jure regio.* cap. ii. theor. vii. p. 141. 142. edit. Carpzov.

§ Grot. *de jure belli & pacis*, lib. 1. cap. iii. §. xx. 2. p. 79, 80. edit. Gronov. Hagæ-com. 1680. To account for this flagellation, he supposes it was not inflicted on the king by any others, as a punishment; but was a voluntary infliction of his own, as a token of his penitence. But this is not agreeable to the representation given by the hebrew doctors.

|| Leusden. *Philolog. hebræo-mixt. dissert.* xxv. §. x. p. 167,—169. edit. securd. Ultraject. 1682.

C. IV. State and grandeur of kings. 189

and Carpzovius *, I apprehend, I have rendered it at least probable, that the Sanhedrim to whom the rabbies ascribe such extraordinary powers, did not exist till the time of the Macabees.

* Not. ad Schickard. loc. supra citat;





C H A P. V.

Of the High-Priests, Priests, Levites
and Nethinims.

WITH respect to the priests, we propose
to enquire

1st, What sort of officers in the hebrew
commonwealth they were : And

2dly, To whom it appertained to execute
that office.

1st, Our first enquiry is, what sort of officers
the priests were, who are called in the Hebrew
כֹּהֲנִים cohanim. The reason of this enquiry is,
because we find in scripture the title cohanim
applied to the officers of state, as well as to the
ministers of the sanctuary. Thus, in the se-
cond book of Samuel, David's sons are said to
have been cohanim (*a*). That they were not
ministers of the sanctuary is certain, because
they were of the tribe of Judah, not of Levi,
to which tribe the ecclesiastical ministry was by
the law expressly limited. Their being called
cohanim, therefore, can mean no other than
as our translators render the word, chief rulers,
or

(*a*) 2 Sam. viii. 18.

or principal officers of state. And so indeed this title seems to be explained in the parallel place in Chronicles, where the sons of David are said to have been **הַרְאֲשִׁימִים לִיד הַמֶּלֶךְ** harishonim lejadh hammelek, primi ad manum regis, “chief about the king (a).” Thus also Ira, the Jairite, is called **כֹּהֵן לְדָוִיד** cohèn le-David, which our translators render, “chief ruler about David (b).” But more commonly the title, cohanim, is given to the minister of the sanctuary, who offered sacrifices, and other ways officiated in the publick worship. Hence arises that uncertainty, whether Potipherah and Jethro, the former the father-in-law of Joseph, the latter of Moses, were ecclesiastical or civil persons; which our translators have expressed by calling them priests in the text, and prince in the margin (c). The true reason of the different application of the word, cohanim, seems to be, that in the primary sense it imports those that minister to a king. They who were **לִיד הַמֶּלֶךְ** lejadh hammelek, about the king, or his ministers, were called his **כֹּהֲנִים** cohanim. And therefore, as God is a king, he had his cohanim as well as earthly monarchs, or such as attended on his special presence in the sanctuary, and ministred in the sacred service. Accordingly, having taken upon himself the character of the king of Israel, he commanded Moses to consecrate Aaron and his sons **לִכְהֵן לִי** lecohèn li (d), to be his cohanim. Accordingly God’s cohanim are said to come near unto the Lord (e), as the ministers of state come near to a king, and attend in his presence.

It

(a) 1 Chron. xviii. 17.

(b) 2 Sam. xx. 26.

(c) Gen. xli. 45. Exod. ii. 16.

(d) Exod. xxx. 30.

(e) Exod. xix. 22. Numb. xvi. 5.

It has been made a question, in which sense we are to understand the word כֹּהֵן *cohèn*, in the following passage of the Psalmist, "Thou art a priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek (*a*)."
Many of the later rabbies, who think David is the person there spoken of, understand by כֹּהֵן *cohèn*, a king, in the civil and political, since it is certain David was not a *cohèn* in the ecclesiastical sense *. But in this they are undoubtedly mistaken; for not only is it certain from several quotations, in the New Testament, of the Psalm, wherein this passage is contained, that it relates to Christ †; but the word *cohèn* is no where used to signify a king, but always one that ministers to a king. Melchizedek, it is true, was a king in Salem; nevertheless it was on account of another office, which he executed, that he is called a *cohèn* (*b*); namely, as he ministred, in sacris, or in the solemnities of divine worship. He was a king over men, but at the same time a *cohèn* to the most high God. Of these sacred, or ecclesiastical, *cohamin*, we propose to discourse, and proceed to enquire,

2dly, To whom it appertained to execute the office of an ecclesiastical *cohèn*, or priest, especially in offering sacrifices.

In order to resolve this question, it will be necessary to distinguish the sacred rites into private, domestick and publick. It is supposed, that in the most ancient times every private person was allowed to offer sacrifices for himself.

(*a*) Psal. cx. 4.

* R. David Kimchi in loc.

† And so it is understood by the ancient rabbies. See Owen on the Hebrews, vol. 1. exercitat. ix. §. 26.

(*b*) Gen. xiv. 18.

self. When Cain and Abel brought each of them, an offering to the Lord, there is no mention of any priest officiating for them, though it does not appear, that either of them sustained any publick character, or had been consecrated to the sacerdotal office (*a*). The Talmudists, indeed, are of opinion, that they brought their sacrifices to Adam, that he might offer them on their behalf, but of this there is not the least hint in the sacred history *. When a sacrifice was offered, or other sacred rites were performed, for a family, it seems to have been done by the head of it; thus Noah sacrificed for himself, and family (*b*); and likewise Jacob (*c*). Job “ offered burnt offerings for his daughters, and his sons, according to the number of them all (*d*).” It has been commonly supposed, rather than proved, that the priests office was hereditary in every family, descending from the father to the eldest son. When, in process of time, several families were combined into nations and bodies politick, the king, as head of the community, officiated as priest for the whole. Thus Melchizedek was both king and priest in Salem; and Moses, as king in Jeshurun, (which is another name for Israel) officiated as priest, in the solemn national sacrifice offered on occasion of Israel’s entering into covenant with God at Horeb. Moses sprinkled the blood of the sacrifice upon the altar, and upon the people (*e*).

Indeed the sacrifices are said to have been offered by “ young men of the children of Israel, whom Moses sent or appointed (*f*);” that is, says the

Vol. I.

O

Targum

(*a*) See Gen. iv. * Vid. Heidegger. histor. Patriarch.
tom. 1. exercitat. v. p. 177. (*b*) Gen. viii. 20.
(*c*) Gen. xxxv. 3. (*d*) Job i. 5. (*e*) Exod. xxiv.
6, & 8. (*f*) ver. 5.

Targum of Onkelos, by the first born of the sons of Israel, who were the priests and sacrificers, till the Levites, being appointed instead of them, had the priesthood settled in their tribe. The Arabick and Persic versions favour this opinion. However, it is to be observed, that נַעֲרִים nangnarim, which we render young men, does not always signify those who are young in years, but those who are fit for service; and accordingly it is applied to ministers or servants of any kind (a). There is no necessity, therefore, that we should understand by the נַעֲרִים nangnarim, whom Moses sent to offer burnt offerings, and to sacrifice peace offerings, proper priests, consecrated to that office; for they might be only servants, employed to kill and preparé the sacrifices, while he, as priest, sprinkled the blood of them on the altar, and on the people. Moses is therefore, by the Psalmist, called a priest: “Moses and Aaron among his priests (b).”

But when God made a more perfect settlement of their constitution, and gave them his law at Sinai, he allotted the public sacerdotal office to Aaron and his sons, and entailed it on their posterity; and though the whole tribe of Levi, to which Aaron belonged, was appointed to the service of the sanctuary, namely to perform the lower offices relating to the publick worship, yet it was now made a capital crime for any, besides Aaron, and his sons and descendants, to officiate, as priests, in the more solemn acts of offering sacrifices, burning incense, and blessing the people. Inasmuch that
when

(a) Gen. xiv. 24. xxii. 3. 2 Sam. xviii. 15. 1 Kings xx. 14.

(b) Psal. xcix. 6.

when Corah and his companions (though Corah was of the tribe of Levi,) attempted to invade the priests office (*a*), God executed his vengeance upon them in a very remarkable manner, as a warning to all others (*b*), and confirmed the priesthood anew to Aaron and his family by the miraculous sign of the budding of his rod (*c*). It was, now, no more lawful for the king, than for the meanest of the people, to officiate in the priests office. This is evident from the remonstrance, which Azariah and his companions made to king Uzziah, when he “went into the temple of the Lord, to burn incense upon the altar of incense,” (perhaps out of a vain ambition of imitating the heathen kings, who in many places executed the priesthood, and that he might in all respects appear as great as they); and from the judgment which God inflicted upon him for it (*d*).

Here a considerable difficulty arises, in that after the giving of the law, (by which the priesthood was limited to Aaron’s family,) we have an account of several kings, judges, and prophets taking upon them to officiate as priests, sacrificing and blessing the people, who yet were not of the family of Aaron, nor of the tribe of Levi, without any censure passed upon them; nay, it should seem, with the divine approbation. Samuel, who was of the tribe of Ephraim, was waited for, that, according to his custom, he might bless the sacrifice (*e*). And on another occasion, he “offered a lamb for a burnt offering to the Lord (*f*).” Both which acts did properly belong to the priest.

O 2

King

(*a*) Numb. xvi. 10. (*b*) ver. 31,—33. (*c*) chap. xvii.
 (*d*) 2 Chron. xxvi. 16, 21. (*e*) 1 Sam. ix. 13.
 (*f*) 1 Sam. vii. 9.

King Saul offered a burnt offering (*a*); and David offered "burnt offerings, and peace offerings before the Lord, and blessed the people in the name of the Lord of hosts (*b*)."
Solomon, likewise, blessed the people, as well as prayed in the publick congregations, at the dedication of the temple (*c*). And the prophet Elijah sacrificed a bullock (*d*).

The common solution of this difficulty is, that these kings and prophets caused the priests to perform the sacrifices for them, and are said to do what was done by their order. But this sense of the expressions, used on these occasions, is too forced to be easily admitted. What Elijah is said to have done, in particular, in the forecited passage, seems evidently to have been done by himself; and cannot, without great force upon the words, be understood of any other person's doing it for him. The difficulty, therefore, is perhaps better solved by supposing, that when these persons acted as priests, they did it not, as being heads of the people, but as being prophets and under the special direction of the spirit of God, who had, no doubt, a right to dispense with his own laws, and sometimes did on extraordinary occasions. Some, on this principle, interpret the words of Samuel to Saul: "The spirit of the Lord shall come upon thee, and thou shalt prophesy; then do thou as occasion shall serve thee, for God is with thee (*e*):" that is, according to them, when thou art thus endowed with the spirit, thou mayest follow his directions upon all emergencies, without regarding

(*a*) 1 Sam. xiii. 9.

(*b*) 2 Sam. vi. 17, 18.

(*c*) 1 Kings viii. 54.

(*d*) 1 Kings xviii. 30.

(*e*) 1 Sam. x. 6, 7.

garding the letter of the law. Though this will not excuse his sacrificing, because from his own account it appears, that he did not do it by special divine direction, but contrary to his judgment; he “forced himself to it, according to his own expression, and did it out of fear (a).”

With respect to the different orders and ranks of priests, and of other ministers about the jewish temple service, Godwin saith, they were three, priests, Levites, and Nethinims. And he adds, they may be paralleled with ministers, deacons and subdeacons in the primitive church; and over them the high-priest was chief. In this manner the papists pretend to found their ecclesiastical hierarchy on the jewish establishment; comparing the pope with the high-priest, the clergy with the priests, the lay monks and cathedral officers, such as their singing men and boys, &c. with the Levites and Nethinims. But the author has not produced, from the New Testament, his evidence of such a distinction of ministers in the primitive christian church as he here speaks of. There we have not the least intimation of two sorts of deacons, the one preachers, the other not; but only of one sort, whose province was to take care of the poor, and of the other temporal matters relating to the church (b). But to return,

The priesthood was entailed on the posterity of Aaron in whom the succession was continued (c); and he having four sons, Nadab

O 3

and

(a) 1 Sam. xiii. 11, 12.

(b) See the account of their institution and office, Acts vi. at the beginning.

(c) Exod. xxviii. 43. and xxix. 9.

and Abihu, Eleazar and Ithamar (*a*), they, together with their father, were consecrated to the sacerdotal office. It was not long, before Nadab and Abihu were both struck dead by fire from heaven. The crime, thus severely punished, was their presuming to burn incense in the Tabernacle with other fire, than that which God had commanded to be used (*b*), and which he ordered to be kept constantly burning on the altar, having been first lighted by a flash from heaven, whereby the first victims that were offered on the altar, after it was erected, had been consumed in the presence of the people (*c*). As immediately upon this, Aaron and all the priests were forbid to drink wine, or any other intoxicating liquors, when ever they went into the tabernacle, "lest they should die (*d*);" the Jews with some reason conclude, that the crime of these two priests was their being drunk, when they went to officiate in the tabernacle.

Nadab and Abihu thus dying before their father, and leaving no children (*e*), there remained Eleazar and Ithamar, in whose posterity the family of Aaron, or of the priests, was distinguished into two branches. Godwin saith, that "the high-priesthood was tied or limited to the line of Aaron's first-born," that is, to the line of Eleazar, who immediately succeeded his father in the office of high-priest (*f*); and was succeeded by his eldest son Phinehas, who had the dignity confirmed to him, and entailed on the line of his posterity, for the pious zeal which he shewed against idolatry and

(*a*) 1 Chron. vi. 3. (*b*) Lev. x. 1, 2. (*c*) Lev. ix. 24.
 (*d*) Lev. x. 9. (*e*) 1 Chron. xxiv. 2.
 (*f*) Numb. xx. 26, 28.

and lewdness. "Behold I give him my covenant of peace, saith God, and he shall have it, and his seed after him; even the covenant of an everlasting priesthood (*a*)."

However, this promise must be understood conditionally in case the eldest branch of his house was fit to discharge this high office, or did not forfeit the dignity by some notorious wickedness; for upon any such failure in the line of Phinehas, it was to be transferred to the eldest branch of the line of Ithamar. Accordingly we find, there were several changes from one line to the other, between the death of Aaron and the captivity of Israel. It first continued through seven successions in the line of Eleazar, and was then translated to the line of Ithamar, in the person of Eli, who was both high-priest and judge in Israel. That he was of the family of Ithamar, not of Eleazar, is concluded from his name not being inserted in the genealogy of Eleazar (*b*); and from Josephus's saying, that he was of the family of Ithamar*. Eli, then, was the first of that line, who was raised to this high dignity; and in his family it continued till the reign of Saul, who caused Abimeleck the son of Ahitub to be slain, and probably transferred the priesthood to Zadoc, who was of the Phinehan line; for in David's time, we find Zadoc joined with Abiathar (who had escaped the massacre of the priests of Ithamar's line) in the execution of the high-priesthood (*c*). It may be presumed, that Zadoc having been advanced by Saul, and being also of the eldest line of Aaron's family, David did

O 4

not

(*a*) Numb. xxv. 12, 13.(*b*) 1 Chron. vi. 3, &c.

* Antiq. lib. v. cap. ult.

(*c*) 2 Sam. xx. 25.

not chuse to depose him, and therefore joined him with Abiathar, whose father and other relations had lost their lives on his account, and whom he had acknowledged as high-priest, and had accordingly enquired of the Lord by him, presently after his father's death (*a*). And thus Zadoc and Abiathar continued partners in this dignity through the reign of David. It is said, indeed, in the account of this king's principal officers and ministers in the second book of Samuel, that "Zadoc the son of Ahitub and Ahimeleck the son of Abiathar were the priests (*b*)."

In this passage here are two things which require explanation. The first is, that Ahimeleck is said to be the son of Abiathar, whereas Abiathar was the son of Ahimeleck. But this difficulty is removed by the easy supposition, that Abiathar might have a son, called after his father Ahimeleck.—The second is, that Ahimeleck, instead of his father Abiathar, is joined as priest with Zadoc. The most probable solution of this is, that Abiathar, through indolence or sickness not much attending to the duty of his office, his son Ahimeleck commonly officiated for him; and on that account, he, rather than his father, is named with Zadoc, as executing the priest's office. Afterward, when Solomon was fixed on his throne, he degraded Abiathar, for his treason in the conspiracy of Adonijah (*c*), and put Zadoc in his room (*d*); that is, established him in the office, alone. And in his line the succession continued till the captivity. But though Abiathar was turned out of his office, it seems he

(*a*) 1 Sam. xxiii. beginning.
 (*c*) 1 Kings ii. 27.

(*b*) 2 Sam. viii. 17.

(*d*) ver. 35.

he was still honoured with the title of high-priest, as before; for presently after we find him named with Zadoc, as in David's time (*a*). The truth is, he was now reduced to the same rank, which the eldest branch of the line of Ithamar held, before the translation of the priesthood to Eli; that is, he was second in the ecclesiastical dignity. This probably was the case with Zephaniah mentioned by the prophet Jeremy, who styles "Seraiah the chief, and Zephaniah the second priest (*b*);" these two being the eldest branches of the two lines of Aaron's family.

Many have been the conjectures concerning the reason of the first translation of the high-priesthood from Eleazar's to Ithamar's family, in the person of Eli. One is, the idolatry, which Micah introduced among the Israelites, which the high-priest is supposed to have countenanced and encouraged (*c*).

To this it may be objected, not only that this idolatry seems to have been peculiar to the tribe of Dan, or rather to a small part of that tribe, which settled at Laish (*d*); but that, though the history of this affair is placed near the end of the book of Judges, it is generally thought to have happened soon after the death of Joshua*, before there was "any judge in Israel (*e*);" that is, at least three hundred years before

(*a*) 1 Kings iv. 4.

(*b*) Jer. lii. 24.

(*c*) See Judg. xviii.

(*d*) ver. 28,—30.

* Josephus seems to have been of this opinion, concerning the early date of Micah's idolatry; for he places the story of the Levite related in the next chapter, soon after the death of Joshua. Antiq. lib. v. cap. 2.

(*e*) See ver. 1. and likewise above, book 1. chap. 1. p. 46.

before the translation of the priesthood out of Eleazar's family. And it cannot be supposed that if the degradation of that family had been the punishment of this sin, it would have been so long delayed.

Dr. Lightfoot conjectures, that God's depriving Eleazar's family of the pontifical dignity for several successions, was on account of the ignorance or carelessness of the high-priest, in suffering Jephthah to sacrifice his daughter*: whence you will observe, it was his opinion, he did actually sacrifice her. After all nothing can be advanced here beyond bare conjecture, the scripture no where informing us of the reason for which the line of Eleazar was thus degraded. But, considering how many legal imperfections would disqualify a man for that high dignity, it is no wonder, that the lineal succession was often interrupted, and the second priest, or the head of one line of Aaron's family, placed above the natural successor in the other line. However, it has been generally thought, and with reason, that some enormous crime was the cause of the first translation, from the family of Eleazar to that of Ithamar; partly, because God had by covenant entailed the succession on the Phinehan line, as was observed before: and partly, because the next translation back again, from the line of Ithamar to that of Eleazar, was on account of the sins of Eli's sons. "I chose the house of thy father Aaron," saith God to Eli by the prophet: "to offer up incense and sacrifices upon mine altar. Why then do ye kick at my sacrifices? Therefore, though I said

* Lightfoot's harmony of the Old Testament, on Judges xi, xii. sub anno Mundi 2819.

said that thine house should stand before me for ever, now be it far from me. Behold the days come, that thou shalt see an enemy in thine habitation, and I will raise me up a faithful priest (a)." By an enemy, or rival, (as some would translate the word **רִיב** tsar,) may probably be meant the eldest branch of the other line, who, though set aside for a time, was to be reinstated in the supreme dignity.

There appear, by the scripture account, to have been thirty high-priests from Aaron to Jozedeck, who was carried captive into Babylon; yet we cannot be sure there were no more, since the scripture no where professes to give us an exact list. After the captivity the regularity of succession was little regarded. The Jews acknowledge that some got into the office by money*; and it is said, that some of the high-priests destroyed one another by witchcraft. Whether we give credit to this account, or not, it shews that several of them, in those latter ages of the jewish church, were corrupt and vicious men, and left a very bad character behind them. Some rabbies reckon eighty high-priests, from the return from the babylonish captivity to the destruction of the second temple. Others eighty four, or eighty five †.

We

(a) 1 Sam. ii. 27, &c.

* Vid. Bartenora, & Maimon. in Mishn. tit. Joma, cap. 1. §. 3. tom. 2. p. 208. edit. Surenhus.

† On the succession of the high-priests consult Selden de successione in pontificatum. Reland. antiq. hebræ. part. 2. cap. 3. and Prideaux's connect. part 1. book 1. sub anno 656. ante Christum. Selden's second book de successione in pontif. contains a large account out of the rabbies of the enquiries which were made previous to the initiation of the high-priest, whether he was next in blood, and born of a marriage allowed by the law, whether he was

We now proceed to consider

1st, The consecration of the Jewish priests to their office : and

2dly, The office itself, to which they were consecrated : showing under both heads, in what respects the high-priest, and the inferior priests were alike, and wherein they differed.

In discoursing of the consecration of the high-priest, Godwin begins with the anointing of him, as one thing wherein he differed from the inferior priests. But the scripture mentions his being clothed with the pontifical garments, as previous to his unction : “ The holy garments of Aaron shall be his sons after him, to be anointed therein, and to be consecrated in them (*a*).” There was still another ceremony, previous both to anointing and cloathing, and common to the high-priest and to the inferior priests ; namely, their being washed with water : “ Aaron and his sons thou shalt bring unto the door of the tabernacle of the congregation, and shalt wash them with water (*b*).” From hence some explain those words of our Saviour to John the baptist, when he desired to be baptized of him : “ Thus it becometh us to fulfill all righteousness (*c*) ;” that is, being about to enter on his priestly office, it became him to be baptized, or washed, according to the law, which he was subject to, or as the apostle expresses it, “ was made, under (*d*).” Others think that “ fulfilling

was of a proper age, that is, arrived to puberty, whether he had any bodily defect, or was addicted to any vice, which disqualified him. The like enquiries are said to have been made, *mutatis mutandis*, concerning the common priests, previous to their consecration.

(*a*) Exod. xxix. 29. (*b*) ver. 4. (*c*) Matt. iii. 15.
(*d*) Gal. iv. 4.

filling all righteousness" here means owning and complying with every divine institution, which John's baptism was*. Be this as it will, the ceremonial washing of all the priests was, doubtless, designed to be typical of that purity of heart and life, which is declared to be essential to the ministers of the gospel (*a*).

We now proceed to consider the unction, which was another ceremony at the consecration of the priests. Godwin represents this anointing, (which term, he seems to think; intimates the profusion of the oil used on the occasion,) as peculiar to the high-priest; whereas the second priests, he saith, were only sprinkled with this oil; mingled with the blood of the sacrifices. But in this he is undoubtedly mistaken; for as the ceremony of sprinkling was common to Aaron and his sons (*b*), so also was the anointing. Thus the Lord spake unto Moses, "Thou shalt anoint Aaron and his sons, and consecrate them, that they may minister unto me in the priests office (*c*)."
Again, it is said; "These are the names of the sons of Aaron, the priests, who were anointed, whom he consecrated to minister in the priest's office; even Nadab and Abihu; Eleazar and Ithamar (*d*)."
There seems, however, to have been this difference betwixt the high-priest and the common priests, that every high-priest was anointed at his consecration, at least before the captivity; whereas none of the common priests were anointed after the immediate sons of Aaron. Every high-priest, I say, was anointed; only when Eleazar succeeded his father in
the

* Witsii Miscell. tom. 2. lib. 2. dissert. 2. §. 47.

(*a*) 1 Tim. iii. 2, 7, and elsewhere. (*b*) Lev. viii. 30.

(*c*) Exod. xxx 30. (*d*) Numb. iii. 3.

the high-priesthood, the ceremony of anointing seems to have been omitted at his consecration, because he had been anointed before, when he was consecrated a common priest. There is no other account therefore of the ceremony of his installment, but his being clothed with his father's pontifical garments (*a*). That the succeeding high-priests were anointed at their consecration, may be certainly inferred from that perpetual law concerning the high-priest, (meaning not only Aaron, but any of his successors in that office,) wherein he is called "the priest that is anointed (*b*)."
 And this being the distinguishing character of the high-priest, it may likewise be inferred, that the common priests, the successors of Aaron's sons, were not anointed.

Maimonides and the talmudical rabbies speak much of a sacerdos ad bellum unctus, or priest anointed for war, who, they say, was anointed with the same oil that the high-priest was, as being little inferior to him in dignity, though in the sanctuary he ministered only as a common priest, and wore no other garments than they did. His proper office, as they inform us, was to attend the camp in time of war, and encourage the people to the battle, according to the following law: "And it shall be, when ye are come nigh unto the battle, that the priest shall approach, and speak unto the people, and shall say unto them, hear, O Israel, you approach this day unto battle against your enemies: let not your hearts faint, fear not, and do not tremble, neither be ye terrified be-
 cause

(*a*) Numb. xx., 28.
 ver. 16.

(*b*) Lev. iv. 3. See also

cause of them. For the Lord your God is he that goeth with you, to fight for you against your enemies, to save you (a)." Maimonides saith, that when "he who is anointed for the war, standing on a high place, before the whole army, hath pronounced these words in the holy tongue, another priest under him proclaimeth it to all the people with a loud voice. And then the anointed priest saith, What man is there that hath built a new house and hath not dedicated it? let him go and return to his house lest he die in the battle, and another man dedicate it. What man is there, that hath planted a vineyard, and hath not yet eaten of it? let him also go and return unto his house, lest he die in the battle and another man eat of it. What man is there that hath betrothed a wife, and hath not taken her? let him go and return unto his house, lest he die in battle and another man take her (b)." Thus much the anointed priest speaketh, and the officer proclaimeth it aloud to the people. Afterward the officer himself speaketh, and saith, "What man is there that is fearful and faint hearted? let him go and return unto his house, lest his brethrens heart faint as well as his heart (c)." And another officer proclaims it to the people *. Now though it may be very naturally supposed, that some of the priests attended the camp, as a kind of chaplains to the regiments, and as having some particular service assigned them, which made their presence necessary; namely, to blow with the trumpets (d), and to encourage the people; nevertheless that there was one priest peculiarly

(a) Deut. xx. 2,—4. (b) ver. 5,—7. (c) ver. 8.

* Maimon. de regibus, chap 7. §. 1,—4.

(d) Numb. x. 8, 9.

peculiarly consecrated to this service, and of superior dignity to the common priests, does not appear in scripture; and we have therefore no reason to believe, (notwithstanding this rabbinical fiction,) that any priests, after the sons of Aaron, were anointed, but the high-priest only.

The ointment or oil, with which the priest was anointed, is described, and there is a receipt for making it, in the book of Exodus (a). It was compounded of spicy drugs, namely, myrrh, sweet cinnamon, sweet calamus and cassia, mixed with oil olive. Maimonides pretends to tell us the manner of making this mixture. “ Each of these four spices, saith he, was pounded separately; then they were all mixed together, and a strong decoction of them made with water; which being strained from the ingredients, was boiled up with the oil, till the water was all evaporated*. The rabbies are very positive, that no more of this holy oil was made after that which Moses made, for anointing the tabernacle, and the first set of priests†. And they ground their opinion on the following passage, which they understand as a prohibition of making it in any future time, “ This shall be an holy anointing oil unto me throughout your generations. Upon man’s flesh it shall not be poured, neither shall ye make

(a) Exod. xxx. 23,—25.

* De apparatus templi, cap. 1. §. 1. apud Crenii Fasciculum sextum, p. 84. & seq. Comment. in Mishn. tit. Cherithoth, cap. 1. §. 1. tom. 5. p. 237, 238. edit. Surrenhus. Hotting. de legibus Hebræor. §. cvii, cviii. & Schikard. jus regum Hebræor. cum notis Carpzov. theor. iv. p. 63, & seq.

† Vid. Talmud. Cherithoth, cap. 1. & Schikard. jus regum, & Carpzov. not. p. 67,—71.

make any other like it, after the composition of it; it is holy and shall be holy unto you. Whosoever compoundeth any like it, or whosoever putteth any of it upon a stranger, shall even be cut off from his people (a).” But this only means, as Christopher Cartwright justly observes *, that none of it should be made for any private or profane use, not that when it was necessary for the holy purposes, for which it was appointed, no fresh quantity should ever be made by the original receipt. Indeed I can see no reason, why a receipt should be given for making it, if no more was to be made after that first parcel. Besides, the quantity made by Moses with one hin of oil, a measure, according to bishop Cumberland, little more than a wine gallon, could not be much more, than was sufficient for anointing the tabernacle and all its furniture, the altar and all its vessels, the laver, and Aaron and his four sons (b). Or if any after all remained, it could not be sufficient for anointing the succeeding high-priests for many ages; nor would it keep so long, but evaporate and be dried up. The rabbies, indeed, always dextrous at unravelling difficulties, tell us, it was miraculously preserved †, like the pot of Manna in the ark of the covenant; and was multiplied like the widow’s cruise of oil (c). They, however, acknowledge, it was lost in Josiah’s time, about

VOL. I.

P

fifty.

(a) Exod. xxx. 31,—33.

* Electa targumico-rabbinica in Exod xxx. 33.

(b) ver. 26,—30.

† Schickard. ubi supra, p. 69. Talmud. Cherithoth. cap. 1. & 3. vid. Hottinger. de juris Hebræor. legibus, leg. cix, cx. p. 138, 139. edit. Tiguri, 1655.

(c) 1 Kings xvii. 14.

fifty years before the destruction of the temple, and that after that no more high-priests were anointed*. But if by the “two anointed ones,” spoken of by Zechariah, “that stand by the Lord of the whole earth (a),” are meant, (as Kimchi and many others understand that passage) Joshua the high-priest, and Zerubbabel the governor, who acted as king of the Jews, this will be an evidence, that anointing was used even after the captivity. Eusebius is of opinion, that it continued in use till our Saviour’s time†.

As to the manner of performing this ceremony, the rabbies relate it with as much particularity and confidence, as if they had been eye witnesses of it. They tell us, indeed, they had the account of it from their wise men, and they had it from the prophets, who had seen it performed. They inform us, that the oil was poured on the top of the priest’s head, which was bare, so plentifully, as to run down his face upon his beard to the collar of his robe; and some say, that he, who anointed him, drew on his forehead, with his finger, the figure of the greek Caph, or Kappa, the first letter of the word כֹהֵן cohèn. Whereas others make it to be the figure of the greek Chi‡, which some suppose was for the first letter in *χριστο* ungo, and *χριστος* unctus; in which they discover a great typical mystery. But all, which can with any certainty be depended upon, is that very brief account given

us

* Talmud. Cherithoth, cap. 1. & Maimon. de apparatu templi, cap. 1. §. 8. Vid. Schickard ubi supra, p. 69, 70.

(a) Zech. iv. 14. † Euseb. demonstr. evang. lib. viii. p. 387. edit. Paris. 1628. ‡ Vid. DeBartenora & Maimonidem in Mishn. tit. Cherithoth, cap. 1. §. 1. & Selden. de Success. in Pontificat. lib. ii. cap. ix.

us in Leviticus: "And Moses poured the anointing oil, upon Aaron's head (*a*):" And by the Psalmist, when he compares brotherly love and unity to "the precious ointment on the head, that ran down upon Aaron's beard, that went down to the skirts, or the collar, of his garments (*b*)."
Some suppose, that, at the consecration of the high-priest, this unction was repeated seven days together; an opinion, which they ground upon a passage in the book of Exodus, where, that "son of Aaron, who is priest in his stead," that is, high-priest, is enjoined, "when he cometh into the tabernacle of the congregation, in order to minister in the holy place, to wear those garments, in which he was anointed and consecrated, seven days (*c*)."
But it does not follow, that, therefore he was to be anointed seven times over.

The high-priest being represented in the New Testament as a type of Christ, Godwin very reasonably, supposes his unction to be typical of those extraordinary gifts and influences of the Spirit, with which the human nature of our Lord was endowed; and which, in allusion to this type are expressed by anointing him: "God, thy God, hath anointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows (*d*)."
It is observed, that this spiritual unction of Christ was not performed at once, but at three different times, each effusion being more plentiful than the former. The first was at his birth, and in his minority; and it appeared in the extraordinary wisdom, which he discovered at twelve years old; insomuch that when at that early age,

P 2

he

(*a*) Lev. viii. 12. (*b*) Psal. cxxxiii. 2. (*c*) Exod. xxix. 29, 30. (*d*) Psal. xlv. 7.

he taught in the temple among the scribes and doctors, "all who heard him were astonished at his understanding and answers (*a*)."³³ The second was at his baptism; when the spirit of God descended like a dove, and lighted upon him (*b*). The third, and most compleat, was upon his ascension, when he "received of the father the promise of the holy ghost, which he shed forth upon his disciples (*c*)."³⁴ The prophecy of the Psalmist, contained in the forty-fifth Psalm, to which I referred above, relates, I apprehend, not so much to the two former unctions, which were designed to qualify him for his ministry on earth, as to that which he received after his ascension, in reward of his humiliation and obedience.

The second part of the ceremony of consecration was enrobing the priests with the sacerdotal vestments. These were eight; four common to the high-priests and inferior priests, and four peculiar to the high-priests. The former were the drawers or breeches, the coat, the girdle, and the bonnet or turbant (*d*). The latter, the robe, the ephod, the breast-plate and the holy crown. All these garments, especially those peculiar to the high-priest, were exceeding rich and sumptuous; the colours gay, and disposed in a beautiful contrast; they were ornamented with rich embroidery, and set off with gold and jewels; and, no doubt, they were very graceful in their shape and form according to the taste of those times. Little, indeed, can be advanced with certainty concerning the fashion of several of these vestments, Moses having

(*a*) Luke ii. 47.

(*b*) Matt. iii. 16.

(*c*) Acts ii,

33.

(*d*) Exod. xxviii. 40,—42.

having left us hardly any thing more than their names. Josephus indeed hath given a particular description of them all *; and doubtless, a very faithful one, according to their fashion in his time. But who can say, how far it might have altered during many ages, and in such various changes as the hebrew commonwealth had undergone, from the time of Moses? The account given by the rabbies is very different from his; and St. Jerom's, as to some of these garments, different from both. The moderns, who have set before us lively descriptions, in writing, and in pictures, vary so much, that some of them seem to have furnished the world with new models for masquerade habits, rather than to have delineated the real fashion of the pontifical vestments †. This caution premised, we shall endeavour to give you the best account we can of these garments, in the order in which they were put on.

The first was the מכנס־ברד michnese-badh, which we render “linnen breeches (a).” And according to Josephus, it much resembled the modern garment, which we call by that name; for he says it was fastened round the middle, ἐμβαλινοντων εἰς αὐτο τῶν ποδῶν, the feet, or legs, being put into it ‡. Its use was “to cover their nakedness,” as it is expressed in the book of Exodus; that is, for the sake of decency, when they stood aloft on the altar, and the people were

P 3

beneath

* Antiq. lib. iii. cap. 7. tom. i. p. 138. edit. Haverç.

† Among others, compare Braunius de vestitu sacerdot. p. 646, 647, 655. edit. 1701. or Witsii Miscell. tom. i. lib. ii. dissert. 2. §. xlviii. with Calmet's dictionary under the word, priest.

(a) Exod. xxviii. 42.

‡ Antiq. ubi supra, §. i. p. 139.

beneath them, or even when they were on the ground, stooping to perform any part of the sacred service. Moses has left us no description of these drawers, only that they were made of linnen, and that they were to "reach from the loins even to the thighs;" that is, according to the rabbies, to the bottom of the thighs, or to the knees. They also inform us, that the waistband was a little above the navel, and near the heart; and that they were tied about the waist with a string, run through the waistband in the manner of a purse. This garment was common to the high-priests, and to the inferior priests*.

That no such garment was wore in Noah's time, seems evident from the story of his being uncovered in his tent (*a*); nor by the Jews in the time of Moses, except by the priests, and that perhaps only when they were officiating at the altar; as may be reasonably conjectured from the law in Deuteronomy against the immodest woman (*b*); for if it had been commonly wore, she could not easily have committed the crime, for which she is condemned to lose her hand. Probably in David's time, it was worn only by the priests; which may be the reason, that when Hanun, king of the Ammonites, "shaved off half the beards of David's servants," or ambassadors, "and cut off their garments in the middle, even to their posteriors," and dismissed them in this disgraceful and indecent condition, "they were greatly ashamed (*c*)."
That this garment was not used
among

* Maimon. de apparatu templi, cap. viii. §. xviii. p. 46. Crenii Fasciculi sexti.

(*a*) Gen. ix. 21. (*b*) Deut. xxv. 11. (*c*) 2 Sam. x. 4, 5.

among the Romans, in latter times, even by their priests, appears from Martials ludicrous description of one who was sacrificing:

Ipsē super virides aras luctantia pronus

Dum refecat cultro colla, premitque manu,

Ingens iratis apparuit hernia sacris.*

Suetonius's account of the manner of Julius Cæsar's death makes it more than probable, that he wore no such garment. "Utque animadvertit undique se strictis pugionibus peti, toga caput obvolvitur; simul sinistra manu sinum ad ima crura deduxit, quo honestius caderet; etiam inferiore corporis parte velata†." Upon the whole, it may be reasonably concluded, that the use of this decent garment had its origin from the divine institution of the Jewish priesthood.

The second garment, which was put on after the breeches, was the כֶּתֶנֶת chethoneth, or coat, as it is called in our translation (a). It was made of linnen (b). We have no description of the fashion of it in scripture, except in the visionary appearance of Christ to St. John, in the form and habit of a priest (c); and he is said to be ενδεδυμενος ποδην, "cloathed with a garment down to the feet," which perfectly agrees with the description, the Jewish writers give of the chethoneth; who say, that it reached down to the feet; and that it likewise had sleeves which came down to the wrist, and was tied about the neck, in the same manner as the breeches about the waist, So that it

P 4

was

* Lib. 3. epigram. 24.

† In vitâ Jul. Cæs. cap. 82.

(a) Exod. xxviii. 40.

(b) Exod. xxxix. 27.

(c) Rev. i. 13.

was not much unlike a long shirt*. It was common to the high-priest and the inferior priests; except that, perhaps, the tunick of the high-priest was rather made of finer linnen, or wove in a more curious manner; for it is called **כְּתֹנֶת תִּשְׁבֵּץ** *chethoneth tashbèts*, which we render the “broidered coat (*a*).” Ainsworth translates it, “a coat of circled work;” and observes, that it differed from broidered work, because that was of various colours, whereas this coat was all white, but wove in circles, or round hollow places, like eyes. The same word, he remarks, is used afterwards (*b*) for ouches, or hollow sockets, in which jewels were set. Dr. Lightfoot conceives this tunick to be a sort of diaper, wove in some figure, as circles, or checkers†. The high-priest when he went into the holy of holies on the day of expiation, was clothed only in the vestes albæ, as they are commonly called, or the garments of the common priests (*c*); yet the tunick which he then wore, is supposed to be somewhat different from, and perhaps meaner than theirs; that it might be more suitable to the peculiar service and deep humiliation of that day. This is thought to be intimated, in the coats made in common for Aaron and his sons, being called **כְּתֹנֶת שֵׁשׁ** *chethoneth shèsh* (*d*); whereas the tunick, which the high-priest wore
on

* Maimon. de apparatu templi, cap. viii. §. xvii. apud Crenii Fascicul. sextum, p. 146. De longitudine tunicarum, erant illæ talares, quarum manicæ pertinebant ad volam manus, & pro latitudine manus patebant. See other testimonies apud Braunium de vestitu sacord. lib. ii. cap. ii. §. vii. p. 461. edit. 1680. §. cccxli. p. 372. edit 1701.

(*a*) Exod. xxviii. 4. (*b*) ver. 11.

† Temple service, chap. iii.

(*c*) Lev. xvi. 4. (*d*) Exod. xxxix. 27.

on the solemn feast day, is called כֶּתֶנֶת-בָּדָד chethoneth-badh (*a*). The shèsh, is imagined to be a fine sort of egyptian linnen, such as was worn by their princes; for with it Pharaoh clothed Joseph (*b*). Some take it to be a fine cotton; whereas the word בָּדָד badh, is supposed to import a common and meaner sort *.

Braunius is of opinion, that there was no difference between the shèsh and the badh, as to the fineness of the stuff, the michnese badh, or linnen breeches, being spoken of as made of שֵׁשׁ מֻשְׁזָר shèsh moshzor, “fine twined linnen,” as our translators render it. And the only difference between them, which he assigns, is, that the badh (being derived from בָּדָד badhadh, solus) was made of a single thread, and the shèsh (which word signifies six) was composed of several, perhaps six, threads twisted together. He supports this sentiment by the testimony of Maimonides, and various other jewish doctors †.

The third garment was the אֲבֵנֶט abnèt, or girdle (*c*). This was likewise made of the שֵׁשׁ shèsh, or fine twined linnen, and curiously embroidered with a variety of colours (*d*). Moses has not acquainted us either with the length or breadth of this girdle. But Josephus and the rabbies have given us the measure of it,

(*a*) Lev. xvi. 4. (*b*) Gen. xli 42.

* Vid. Cunæum de Repub. Hebr. lib. ii. cap. 1. & Leusden. Philol. Hebr. mixt. dissert. 27. p. 179, 180.

† Vid. Braun. de vestitu sacerdot. hebr. lib. 1. cap. ii. §. iii. p. 23,—25. edit. Amstel. 1680. alias, §. xvii,—xix. p. 17,—19. edit. 1701. cap. vi. §. viii. p. 131,—134. edit. 1680. §. xcii, xciii. p. 101,—103. edit. 1701. cap. vii. §. i,—iv. p. 137,—141. edit. 1680. §. xcv,—xcviii p. 105,—109. edit. 1701.

(*c*) Exod. xxviii. 40

(*d*) Exod. xxxix. 29.

it, though their accounts are very different. It went, according to Josephus, twice about the waist *. But Maimonides makes it to be thirty-two ells long †. If this account be true, the use of it seems to have been, not only to bind the tunick close and tight, but to serve for a warm upper garment, by swathing the body from the arms to the waist; and also to strengthen the back for the laborious work of killing, dressing and burning the sacrifices. However Josephus's account seems the more probable; partly, because so warm a dress would, in that warm climate, have been highly inconvenient, especially when they were engaged in the most laborious part of their employment, or were tending the fire on the altar; and partly, because in the visionary appearance of Christ in the priest's habit, referred to before, he is said to be "girt about the paps with a golden girdle." An expression, which renders it unlikely, that the greater part of his body was swathed with it; rather intimating, that it was tied once or twice about the breast. Josephus informs us ‡, that it was tied in a knot before, the ends of it hanging down for ornament, to the feet; but that when the priest was about any work, which obliged him to stoop, and the ends of the girdle would be in his way, he threw them over his left shoulder. Maimonides makes the breadth of the girdle to be three fingers §, Josephus four; and

* Antiq. lib. iii. cap. 7. §. 2. tom. i. p. 140. edit. Haverc.

† De apparatu templi, cap. viii. §. xix. apud Crenii Fascicul. sextum, p. 146, 147.

‡ Antiq. ubi supra.

§. Maimon. ubi supra.

and he adds, that it was wove hollow, like a snake's skin, and so served for a purse, as well as a girdle *, to which use, indeed, in ancient times girdles were commonly applied, both among the Jews and Romans. Hence Horace saith, *Ibit eò, quo vis, qui zonam perdidit* †. And *zonam perdere* is a latin phrase for being a bankrupt. And hence also when our Saviour sent out his disciples to preach, he enjoined “them to provide neither gold nor silver nor brass *eis tas ζωνας*, in their purses,” or girdles (a).

The fourth garment was *מגבעות* *migbangoth*, the bonnet or bonnets, as we render the word (b). It was also made of the *שש* *shesh*, or fine twined linnen (c). The scripture is wholly silent, both as to the fashion of it, and the quantity of linnen that composed it. According to the rabbies description of it, it was much like the turkish turban: they say, it consisted of a slip of linnen sixteen ells long, wound round the head ‡. Josephus saith, it was like a helmet made of linnen, one wreath being plaited and folded over another, and a thin cap, suited to the shape of it, put over all, to prevent its unfolding or growing slack §.

The high priest's head-dress is indeed expressed by another word, which we render a mitre; but the Jews reckon the mitre and the bonnet

* Joseph. ubi supra.

† Epistolarum, lib. 2. epist. 2. l. 40.

(a) Matt. x. 9. (b) Exod. xxviii. 40. (c) Exod.

xxxix 28.

‡ Maimon. de apparatu templi, cap. viii. §. ii, & xix. p. 140, 141. & 146, apud Crenii Fascicul. sext. Vid. Braunium de vestitu sacerdot. lib. ii. cap. iv. §. xi, xii. p. 512, 513. edit. 1680. §. ccclxxxviii, ccclxxxix. p. 414, 415. edit. 1701.

§ Ubi supra.

bonnet to be the same, only folded up in a somewhat different manner, according to the dignity of the person that wore it. They describe the mitre, as wound into a broader and more beautiful form, like the turkish turban; whereas the bonnet was made into a more conical figure, though not into a point, like the persian turban; and this is what Josephus means, when he calls the bonnet, *ακωνον* *.

The sacerdotal vestments, peculiar to the high-priest, were the robe, the ephod, the breast-plate and the holy crown. These are commonly called the *vestes aureæ*, to distinguish them from the plain or linnen garments†, already described; for they were richly ornamented with gold and jewels.

The first was the *מִעְיָן* mengnil, or blue robe, which was wore over the linnen vest. We have the description of it in the book of Exodus, “And thou shalt make the robe of the ephod all of blue, and there shall be an hole in the top of it, in the midst thereof; it shall have a binding of woven work, round about the hole of it, as it were the hole of an habergeon, that it be not rent. And beneath, upon the hem of it, thou shalt make pomegranates of blue, and of purple, and of scarlet, round about the hem thereof, and bells of gold between them, round about; a golden bell, and a pomegranate, a golden bell and a pomegranate upon the hem of the robe round about (a).” It is called

* Antiq. lib. iii. cap. 7. §. 3. tom. 1, p. 141. edit. Haverc. Vid. Braunium de vestitu sacerdot. lib. ii. cap. iv. §. xiv, xv. edit. 1680. §. cccxci, cccxcii. p. 418, & seq. edit. 1701.

† Maimon. de apparatu templi, cap. viii. ab init.

(a) Exod. xxviii. 31, — 34.

ed the robe of the ephod, not only because it was wore along with, and next under it, but because, says Maimonides, it was girded with the ephod*; that is, the girdle of the ephod served for this robe as well as for the ephod itself, and bound these two garments, together, to the body. It is not certain, of what stuff this robe was made; but as it was coloured, it is not probable, it was linnen; because that takes the dye the worst of any sort of stuff, of which garments are made. Some, therefore, will have it to be made of wool, others of cotton: The syriac version, and after it the old slemish, make it to be yellow silk. But, as to the colour, though we are not very certain of the meaning of the hebrew word תכלת techeleth, yet it seems reasonable to follow the septuagint, which renders it hyacinth; and so does the chaldee paraphrase. What occasions the uncertainty in this case is, that there is both a stone, and a flower, called the hyacinth; the stone, yellow; and the flower blue. But considering that the ephod, which was wore over the upper part of this robe, was embroidered with scarlet and gold, and that golden bells hung at the bottom of the robe itself, it is more likely that the colour was that of the hyacinth flower, than that of the stone, since the gold and scarlet would show to more advantage on blue, than on yellow; and, therefore, we translate the word תכלת techeleth, blue.

Round the bottom of this robe, in the manner of a fringe, there were little golden bells, and balls of blue, purple and scarlet, in the shape

⌘ Ubi supra, cap. x. §. iii. p. 154. Crenii Fascic. sext.

shape of pomegranates, which hung interchangeably. We are not informed in the scripture of the number or size either of the bells or pomegranates. But the rabbies, who are not content to be supposed ignorant of any thing, have supplied both these defects; assuring us, that the number of each was just seventy two *, the number of the elders of Israel; and that each pomegranate was as large as an egg †. Now since the bells, in order to their making a becoming and graceful appearance, must be supposed to be as large as the pomegranates, and likewise allowing a proper space betwixt each bell and pomegranate, for the sounding of the bells, one cannot well admit less room than a nail of a yard, or two inches and a quarter for each; which multiplied by the whole number of bells and pomegranates amounts to one hundred forty-four nails, or nine yards: an incredible circumference indeed! about double the size of a modern hoop petticoat.

This robe is said by Josephus ‡, and the rabbies § to be without sleeves, having a hole on each side, to put the arms through. Moses describes it, as having a hole at the top, to put the head through; and saith, that this hole had

* Maimon. de apparatus templi, cap. iv. p. 148. Crenii Fascic. sexti.

† R. S. Jarchi ad Exod. xxviii. 31. Vid. ejus verba apud Braun. de vestit. sacerd. lib. ii. cap. v. §. xviii. p. 565, 566. edit. 1680. §. ccccxxii. p. 453. edit. 1701.

‡ This is undoubtedly the meaning of the following words in Josephus, καὶ ὅθεν αἱ χεῖρες διεγύονται, χιτὼς ἑστῆ. etiam aperta est, qua manus exseruntur. Antiq. lib. iii. cap. vii. §. 4. tom i. p. 142. edit. Haverc.

§ Maimon. ubi supra, §. iii.

had a strong binding round it, to prevent its being rent, in putting it on and off (*a*).

This hole in the top of the robe is expressed in the Hebrew by פִּי רֹאשׁוֹ phi-roshu, the mouth of his head, or through which the priest put his head; or by פִּי-חֲמֵעִיל phi-hammengnil, the mouth, or hole, of the robe (*b*). This will explain what is meant by the Psalmist, when he describes the precious ointment, that was poured on Aaron's head, as running down "to the skirts of his garments," פִּי-מִדּוֹתָיו phi-middothaiv (*c*); the mouth, or collar of his robe; as our translators have rendered the word phi in another place (*d*), and Ainsworth in this; agreeable to which is bishop Patrick's paraphrase. I can see no foundation, therefore for that very disagreeable idea, suggested by the generality of our metrical translators, not excepting even the ingenious Dr. Watts; that the oil was poured in so profuse a quantity on Aaron's head, as to descend, not only upon his beard, but to the bottom of his cloaths. Which, indeed, it is not probable, God would have directed to be made in so expensive and beautiful a manner, if they had been designed to be smeared with oil, and thereby to be utterly spoiled.

I take the case to be, that the hair of his head and beard was to be well anointed to the extremity, which probably reached as low as the collar of his robe. This was graceful and ornamental, according to the fashion of that country, and those times. Hence we read, not only of "wine that maketh glad the heart
of

(*a*) Exod. xxviii. 32. (*b*) Exod. xxxix. 23. (*c*) Psal.
cxxxiii. 2. (*d*) Job xxx. 18.

of man, but of oil to make his face to shine (*a*),” or his outside, for so פָּנִים *panim*, frequently signifies, in opposition to his heart: referring probably to the anointing the hair, which was then the fashion. Hence it is likewise that David, among other expressions of the plenty and glory of the state, to which God had advanced him, particularly mentions his anointing his head with oil (*b*). It was a mark of the gaiety and luxury of men of pleasure, that they “anointed themselves with the chief ointments (*c*).” The same custom continued to our Saviour’s time, as is evident from a certain woman’s pouring the precious ointment on his head, when he was entertained at the house of Simon the Leper (*d*); and from the gentle reproof which our Lord gave Simon the Pharisee, on an occasion of the like nature, for omitting that common act of civility (*e*). On the whole, beside the mystical intention of the sacerdotal unction, it was designed as the garments themselves were, “for glory and for beauty (*f*)”; which it could not have been, if they had been thereby daubed and spoiled.

It may perhaps be objected, that if these beautiful vestments were not defaced by the anointing, they must, however, have been grievously defiled with the sprinkling of blood and oil upon them, which was one ceremony prescribed and observed at the consecration of the high-priest (*g*). But as to this, let it be remarked, that the english word, sprinkle, is used by our translators for two hebrew words, זָרַק *zarak*, and נָזַח *nazah*, as different from each

(*a*) Psal. civ. 15. (*b*) Psal. xxiii. 5. (*c*) Amos vi. 6.
 (*d*) Matt. xxvi. 7. (*e*) Luke vii. 46.
 (*f*) Exod. xxviii. 2. (*g*) Exod. xxix. 21.

each other in sense as they are in sound. The former denotes sprinkling in a large quantity ; as when Moses is commanded to take “ hand-fuls of the ashes of the furnace, and sprinkle them towards heaven (*a*) ;” and when, in Ezekiel’s vision, the man clothed in linnen is ordered to “ fill his hand with coals of fire, and scatter, or sprinkle, them over the city (*b*).” Again, this word is applied to such a sprinkling or rather pouring of clean water, as should cleanse the persons, on whom it was poured, from all their filthiness (*c*) ; which seems to imply a considerable quantity. It is the word used for sprinkling the blood of the sacrifices round about upon the altar (*d*) ; which implies, that no inconsiderable proportion of it was disposed of in that manner, which was afterwards dried and consumed by the fire.

The other word נָזַח *nazah*, is used for sprinkling in a small quantity ; as when a man dips the end of his finger in some liquor, and with that sprinkles a drop or two upon any thing. Thus, in performing the rites of cleansing a leper, the priest is ordered to pour oil into the palm of his left hand, and to sprinkle some of it with his right finger (*e*). Again, “ the priest shall dip his finger in the blood, and sprinkle seven times before the Lord (*f*).” In the same manner was the high-priest to sprinkle the blood of the sacrificed bullock upon the mercy seat. (*g*). It is not surely to be imagined, that he was to throw any considerable quantity of blood upon it, to defile and deface that beauti-

VOL. I.

Q

ful

(*a*) Exod. ix. 8.
xxxvi. 25.

(*b*) Ezek. x. 2.
(*d*) Lev. vii. 2.

(*c*) Ezek.
Exod. xxix. 16.

(*e*) Lev. xiv. 26, 27.
xvi. 14.

(*f*) Lev. iv. 6.

(*g*) Lev.

ful piece of carving, and the curious images of the cherubim. He was only, with the tip of his finger, just to spot it seven times, and probably in a part where it could be easily wiped off. Now, this is the word used for the sprinkling of Aaron's garments; which, I think, may be considered as the setting God's mark upon them, perhaps by a spot in one particular place; which would no more deface their beauty, than one black letter would sully a clean cambrick handkerchief.

But to return to the כִּתְּמֵיל *mengail*, or blue robe, which was put on over the head, and covered the body all round; but how low it reached, the scripture no where informs us. The septuagint calls it *υποδυτην ποδην*, and Josephus *ποδηνς* *; which means, that it reached down to the feet. But the length, which we commonly see expressed in the pictures of the high-priest, to about the middle of the leg, is probably the true one; because, otherways, the tunica ocellata would have been quite hid by it. Besides, this would be more convenient for the sounding of the bells, which hung on the bottom of it, than if it came quite down to the feet.

The second of the aureæ vestes was the ephod, so called from אֶפֶד *aphad*, *amicivit* or *accinxit*; which verb we render to gird and to bind, in the only two places wherein it occurs (*a*). Ephod seems to have been the name of an upper garment, which was wore by persons of distinction of various characters. We read

* Antiq. lib. iii. cap. 7. §. 4. tom. 1. p. 142. edit. Haverc.

(a) Exod. xxix. 5. Lev. viii. 7.

read that king David (*a*), and the eighty-five priests, who were murdered by Saul (*b*), and even Samuel, when a child (*c*), were girded with a linnen ephod. It is, therefore, probable that the peculiarity of the high-priest's ephod did not consist in its being of a different shape from that which was wore by other persons; but in the richness of the materials, of which it was made, and the fine embroidery and jewels with which it was adorned. Inasmuch that it might properly be called the ephod, *κατ' ἐξοχὴν*.

The description of this garment in the book of Exodus, relates only to its materials, and not to its shape or form: It was made "of gold, of blue and of purple, of scarlet, and fine twined linnen with cunning work (*d*)."
We are not very certain concerning the nature of these colours. I have already given some account of the word *תכלת* *techeleth*, which we render blue. As for the *ארגמן* *argaman*, or purple, as it is rendered, it is generally thought to be a dye made of the blood of a shell-fish of that name, which was taken on the coast of Palestine, and for which the Tyrians afterward became famous*.

Some jewish etymologists make *ארגמן* *argaman*; to be a kind of adjective of the word *רגם* *regem*, which, according to them, signifies a prince or a royal person; wherefore they would translate it a princely colour, or such as kings wore themselves, and bestowed on their greatest favourites. Thus Daniel was clothed with purple by Belshazzar (*e*).

Q 2

As

(*a*) 2 Sam. vi. 14.(*b*) 1 Sam. xxii. 18.(*c*) 1 Sam. ii. 18.(*d*) Exod. xxviii. 6, &c.

* Vid. Bochart. hieroz. part 2. lib. v. cap. 10, & 11.

(*e*) Dan. v. 29.

As for the shape of the ephod, the septuagint calls it *επαμῖς* *, which signifies, that it was wore on the shoulders. Josephus saith, it was a cubit long †. St. Jerom compares it to the roman caracalla, which was a sort of short cloak, only that it had a head or hood to it, something like the capuchins the ladies now wear, which the ephod had not ‡. Maimonides saith, it reached down to the feet; which some suppose to be true of the back, though not of the fore part. It consisted, they imagine, of two parts, the one an oblong, rectangular piece, hanging down behind from the shoulders to the feet; and the rabbies say, it was the breadth of his back who wore it from shoulder to shoulder; the other, a short, rectangular piece which hung down before, the length of a cubit. These two pieces were joined together, upon the shoulders, with some proper fastening, as loops, buttons or the like §.

The high-priest's ephod had a very rich button upon each shoulder, made of a large onyx stone set in gold; so large, that the names of the twelve tribes of Israel were engraven, six upon each stone (a).

The word שֹהַם shoham, which we render onyx, the septuagint translates *σμαραγδος*, an emerald. But we have no certain knowledge, either of this, or of any of the twelve stones
of

* And so Josephus, Antiq. lib. iii. cap. vii. §. 6. Oper. tom. i. p. 150.

† Antiq. lib. iii. cap. vii. §. 5. p. 143. edit. Haverc.

‡ Hieron. ad Fabiolam, epist. 128.

§ Maimon, de apparatu templi, cap. ix. §. ix. p. 150. Crenii Fascicul. sext.

(a) Exod. xxviii. 9,—12.

of the breast plate, and may as well be satisfied with our translation as with any other *.

To the ephod there belonged a curious girdle, of the same rich fabric with the ephod itself. This is said to be “upon the ephod(*a*),” that is, wove with it, as Maimonides understands it; and coming out from it on each side, it was brought under the arms like a sash, and tied upon the breast †. Upon the ephod was put

3dly, the חֹשֶׁן מִשְׁפָּט choshen mishpat, “the breast-plate of judgment(*b*); so called, because the high-priest always wore it when he consulted the oracle, by which were determined all doubtful cases of national importance. The breast-plate was made of the same rich materials with the ephod, two spans long, and one broad; but folding up double, it was a span square(*c*). The breast-plate was fastened upon the ephod by rings of gold at the four corners, the two upper rings being hung upon, or fastened to, the shoulder pieces with golden chains, and the two lower rings tied to the girdle of the ephod with blue strings or ribbands(*d*). The breast-plate was adorned with four rows

Q 3 of

* Braunius hath considered the subject at large, de vestitu sacerdot. hebraeor. lib. ii. à cap. viii. ad xix. inclusivè. p. 497,—588. edit. 1701. See likewise Epiphanius de xii gemmis. Buxtorf the younger, in his Exercitar. de arca fœderis, & Christ. Cartwright. elect. targum. rabbin. in loc.

(*a*) Exod. xxviii. 8.

† Maimon. de apparatus templi, ubi supra, & §. xi. p. 152.

(*b*) Exod. xxviii. 15.

(*c*) ver. 16. A span is half a cubit, as appears from Ezek. xliii. 13, 17. where in one verse it is said, that the border of the altar shall be a span; in the other, that it shall be half a cubit.

(*d*) Exod. xxviii. 22,—28.

of jewels set in sockets of gold, three jewels in a row; that is, in three perpendicular rows, and four horizontal. Upon these jewels were graven the names of the twelve patriarchs, one name upon each jewel (*a*). If our translators have given us the right names of these stones, some of them are so hard, (as particularly the diamond,) that we might well wonder how they engraved them. But here the Talmudists wonderfully help us, by assuring us, that they were not engraved with any tool, which would have wasted some of the substance of those precious stones, but by a miraculous worm, not now in being, which being set upon each of these stones, crept and sunk itself along those places which Moses had marked out to it, and so impressed the letters upon the stones, as if it had been on soft wax, without taking off any part of it*. But as we do not pretend to know, what, or how hard, these stones were, we stand in no need of this miraculous worm, to account for the difficulty of engraving them.

The fourth garment, or rather ornament, peculiar to the high-priest was the plate, or crown of gold, which he wore upon the front of his mitre (*b*). This is likewise called "the holy crown (*c*)," and the plate of the holy crown (*d*). The hebrew word *טִיט* *tsits*, which we translate a plate, properly signifies a flower. The septuagint renders it *πεταλον*, which signifies a leaf, because, saith Ainsworth, it appeared fair and glorious. Or rather, perhaps, it is expressed

(*a*) Exod. xxviii. 17,—21.

* Braun. de vestitu sacerdot. lib. ii. cap. vii. §. cccclxvii. p. 490. edit. 1701.

(*b*) Exod. xxviii. 36,—38.

(*b*) Exod. xxxix. 6.

(*c*) Exod. xxxix. 30.

expressed by a word, which signifies a flower, or leaf, because it is thin, that so it might not be burdensome to wear. However, we must not conceive it to be near so thin as our leaf gold, because it had letters engraven upon it, which leaf gold will not admit of. The size and form of this plate, or crown, are not expressed by Moses; but if the jewish doctors are worthy of credit, it was two fingers broad, and made in a circular form suited to the shape of the head, and so long that it reached from ear to ear, and was fastened upon a blue lace, or ribband, which was tied behind the head*; and as this gold plate reached but about half round the head, the remaining part of the ribband, which was not covered with it, as far as to the tying, was richly ornamented with artificial flowers of embroidered work. This plate had the following motto engraved on it, קדש-ל'יהוה kodhesh laihovah, which is rendered in our translation, agreeable to most of the ancient versions, “Holiness to the Lord.” The manner of engraving this motto is said to be “like the engraving of a signet.” But whether that is to be understood that the letters were sunk as in a seal, or protuberant as in the impression; as also, whether the two words were wrote in one line or two, are points which the jewish doctors must be left to dispute and determine among themselves.

It has been customary in other nations, as Braunius shows †, to write inscriptions on the crown of princes and heroes; to which there seems

Q 4

to

* Maimon. de apparatu templi. cap. ix. §. 1. p. 147. Crenii Falciculi. sext. & R. S. Jarchi in loc.

† De vestitu sacerdot. hebræor. lib. ii. cap. xxii. §. 15. edit. Amstel. 1680. §. DCLXX. p. 636. edit. 1701.

to be an allusion in that passage of the Revelation, where antichrist is described as a lewd woman, with an inscription on her forehead: "Myſtery, Babylon the great, the mother of harlots, and the abominations of the earth (a)." However, I imagine, the reference, in this place, is more eſpecially to the jewiſh high-prieſt, and to the inſcription on his crown; becauſe this woman immediately before, is ſaid to be "arrayed in purple, and ſcarlet colour, and decked with gold and precious ſtones;" which were the colours and ornaments of his veſtes aureæ, or golden veſtments. The deſcription ſeems, therefore, to intimate, that the perſon was one, who would aſſume the character of Pontifex Maximus. How applicable this is to the pope every one may perceive, who is not greatly prejudiced; eſpecially as the word Myſterium was formerly engraven on the papal crown. But when the Proteſtants began to remark its congruity to the forecited paſſage in the Revelation, Pope Julius the third ordered a new crown to be made, on which inſtead of the former motto, was engraven Julius, pontifex maximus *.

Joſephus gives us the deſcription of a more pompous crown, which, in his time, the high-prieſts wore over their mitre, on which was embossed the calyx, or cup of a flower, reſembling that produced by a plant, which the Greeks call *νοστυαμος* †. But ſince, according to the original inſtitution, this was no part of the pontifical dreſs, it does not belong to our province, particularly to conſider it. Poſſibly

(a) Rev. xvii. 5.

* See Poli Synops. in loc.

† Antiq. lib. iii. cap. vii. §. 7. tom. 1. p. 154. edit. Haverc.

sibly this might be the crown, which Alexander the Great presented to Jaddua when he went out to meet him, and which was afterwards wore on grand and solemn occasions; in like manner as persons wear medals, presented to them by princes, as badges of honour.

Thus have we considered the pontifical vestes aureæ. To these, particularly to the breast-plate, belonged the Urim and Thummim: "Thou shalt put in the breast-plate of judgment the Urim and the Thummim; and they shall be upon Aaron's heart, when he goeth in before the Lord; and Aaron shall bear the judgment of the children of Israel upon his heart before the Lord continually (a)." The words אורים and תמים Urim and Thummim, signify lights and perfections. The septuagint renders them *φωσιν* and *αληθειαν*, manifestation and truth. But what they mean, as applied to the pontifical breast-plate, is not easily ascertained. Moses having said little concerning them, hath left room for innumerable conjectures, wherewith many pages and whole volumes of later writers have been filled. And after all, nothing is more pertinent, than the following sentence of rabbi Kimchi, "He is on the safest side, saith he, who frankly confesses his ignorance; so that we seem to need a priest to stand up with Urim and Thummim, to teach us what the Thummim were (b)."

We read of no commandment, or direction, given to Moses for the making of them; he is only ordered to put them in the breast-plate: "Thou shalt put in the breast-plate of judgment

(a) Exod. xxviii. 30.

(b) Alluding to Ezra ii. 63.

ment the Urim and the Thummim (*a*).” There is no mention of them in the account of the making of Aaron’s garments in the thirty-ninth chapter of Exodus; only in that of cloathing the high-priest in Leviticus, it is said, “He put the breast-plate upon him, also he put in the breast-plate the Urim and Thummim.” From hence some of the hebrew doctors conclude, they were not the work of any human artificer, but of God himself*. The use of them was to enquire of God, and to receive an answer by them concerning his will. It is said in the book of Numbers, that Eleazar the priest shall ask counsel for Joshua after the judgment of Urim before the Lord (*b*). And when Saul “enquired of the Lord, the Lord answered him not, neither by dreams, nor by Urim, nor by the prophets (*c*).” And when Moses blessed the tribes of Israel, of Levi he said, “Let thy Urim and Thummim be with thy holy one (*d*).” The opinion concerning the Urim and Thummim, most generally received among the Jews, is, that they were the twelve precious stones in the breast-plate, on which were engraven the names of the twelve tribes of Israel; and that the oracle gave its answer to any question proposed, by causing such letters in them to shine with a superior lustre, or to appear prominent above the rest, as formed the words of the answer; which, some say, the high-priest was by inspiration taught to spell, and dispose in their proper order

(*a*) Exod. xxviii. 30.

* Rabbi Bechai, quoted by Schickard. jure regio, cap. 1. theor. ii. p. 19, 20. edit. Carpzov.

(*b*) Numb. xxvii. 21.

(*c*) 1 Sam. xxviii. 6.

(*d*) Deut. xxxiii. 8.

der, though others maintain the several letters shone or appeared prominent, not all together, but one after another, in the order which formed the words of the answer *. And whereas all the letters of the alphabet are not found in the names of the twelve tribes, the Talmudists inform us, that the names of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, were likewise engraven over the name of Reuben; and under that of Benjamin, the words *יה שבט'י* shibhte-Jah, “the tribes of the Lord;” and by this means the alphabet was compleated. Josephus, and some others, imagine, the answer was returned, by the stones of the breast-plate appearing with an unusual lustre, when it was favourable, or in the contrary case, dim †. Others suppose, the Urim and Thummim were something enclosed between the folding, or doubling, of the breast-plate; which, they say, was doubled for that very purpose, that it might be fit, as a purse, to contain them. What they were, is, however, differently conjectured. Some of the rabbies will have them to be the Tetragrammaton, or the word *יהוה* Jehovah, which, they say, was wrote in a mysterious manner in two parts, and two different ways ‡. Christophorus de Castro, and

* Vid. Schickard. de jure regio, cap. i. theor. ii. p. 24. edit. Carpzov. But Scheringham, on the mishnical book Joma, cap. 8. §. 5. not. 11. p. 251, 252. saith, that Schickard was mistaken in supposing it the opinion of the rabbies, that the letters shone, or became prominent, in the order which composed the words of the answer; but that their notion was, that by an audible divine voice pronouncing the words, the high-priest was prevented from mistaking either the order of the letters, which were, or the points which were not, engraven on the breast-plate. See likewise Carpzov. ad Schickard.

† Antiq. lib. iii. cap. viii. §. 9. op. tom. 1. p. 164.

‡ Vid. R. Solomon. & Targum Jonathan. citat. à Schickard jure regio, cap. 1. theor. ii. p. 20, 21.

and after him Dr. Spencer *, maintain them to be two little images, shut up in the doubling of the breast-plate, which gave the oracular answer from thence by an articulate voice. They accordingly, derive them from the Egyptians, who consulted their Lares, and had an oracle, or Teraphim, which they called truth : which, however, it is more likely they borrowed from the Jews, than the Jews from them. This conceit of Dr. Spencer's has been so abundantly confuted by Dr. Pocock †, that it does not appear to have been adopted by any since his time. The more common opinion among Christians concerning the oracle by Urim and Thummin, and which Dr. Prideaux espouses ‡, is, that when the high-priest appeared before the veil, clothed with his ephod and breast-plate, to ask counsel of God, the answer was given by an audible voice from the mercy seat, within the veil : which, he thinks, best answers to the scripture expression of “ enquiring at the mouth of the Lord (*a*) ;” and God's “ communing,” and talking, with those who consulted him (*b*). But this account will by no means agree with the history of David's consulting the oracle by Abiathar : “ When he knew Saul secretly practised mischief against him, he said to Abiathar the priest, bring hither

* Vid Dissert. de Urim & Thummim.

† Comment. on Hosea, chap. iii. 4. See likewise Witsius's *Ægyptiaca* ; in the first book and eighth chapter of which learned performance, he hath given an account of Spencer's hypothesis, and in the second book, the third, tenth, eleventh and twelfth chapters, a distinct and accurate confutation of it.

‡ See his connect. part 1. book 3. sub anno 535 ante Christ.

(*a*) Josh. ix. 14

(*b*) Exod. xxv. 22.

ther the ephod ;” and then he enquired of the Lord, “ Will the men of Keilah deliver me up into his hands (*a*) ? ” And on another occasion, “ I pray thee, said he to Abiathar, bring me hither the ephod ; and he brought the ephod ; and David enquired at the Lord, shall I pursue after this troop ? &c (*b*). ” On both the occasions, the ephod being used in consulting the oracle, it is concluded the answer was given by Urim. And that could not be by a voice from the mercy seat upon the ark, the ark being then at Kirjath-jearim, a city in the tribe of Judah (*c*) ; whereas David and Abiathar were in the forest of Hareth, the first time of consulting the oracle (*d*), and at Ziklag in the country of the Philistines, the second (*e*).

I will only mention one opinion more on this subject, that which is espoused and supported by the learned Braunius. He supposes, that when Moses is commanded to put in the breastplate the Urim and Thummim, which words are in the plural number, and signify lights and perfections, it means only that he should make choice of the most perfect set of stones, and have them so polished as to give the brightest and finest lustre *. This is likewise the notion of Hottinger †. And on this supposition, the use and design of the Urim and Thummim, or of these exquisitely polished jewels in the peccatorial

(*a*) 1 Sam. xxiii. 9,—11.

(*b*) chap. xxx. 7, 8.

(*c*) 1 Sam. vii. 1, 2.

(*d*) 1 Sam. xxii. 5.

(*e*) chap.

xxix. 11. and xxx. 1.

* See the reasons with which he supports this opinion, in his treatise de Vestitu sacerdot. Hebræor. lib. ii. cap. xx. §. xviii,—xxi. p. 786,—773. Amstel. 1680. §. dcxxx1,—dcxxxv. p. 605,—610. edit. 1701.

† Vid. Hotting. annot. in Godw. Moses & Aaron. l. 1. cap. 5. not. 11.

toral, was only to be a symbol of the divine presence, and of the light and perfection of the prophetic inspiration; and, as such, constantly to be worn by the high-priest in the exercise of his sacred function, especially in consulting the oracle*.

Amidst this great variety of sentiments we may indulge this consolatory reflection, that if a more clear and certain knowledge of this subject had been necessary or useful, the scripture account, beyond all question, would have been more distinct and particular†.

Having described the sacerdotal vestments, it only remains, that I add a few general remarks concerning them.

1st, The priests wore these garments only when they officiated; at other times, it does not appear, they were distinguished by their habits from other men‡. It is said, these vestments “shall be upon Aaron and upon his sons, when they come in unto the tabernacle of the congregation, or when they come near unto the altar to minister in the holy place (a).” And again, they are styled, “the clothes of service, to do service in the holy place; and the holy garments for Aaron the priest, and his son’s garments,

* Braun. de Vestitu, ubi supra, §. xxv.—xxvii. p. 778, —782. edit. Amstel. 1680. §. dcxl.—dcxliii. p. 613,—617. edit. 1701.

† See on this subject Lightfoot’s handful of gleanings upon Exod. §. xlviii. Buxtorf in his exercitat. de arca fœderis Schickard. jus regium hebræor. cum annot. Carpzov. cap. 1. theor. 3. p. 17,—46. and Sheringham in Joma lapud Mishna Surenhusii, cap. 8. §. 5. not. 11. tom. 2. p. 251, 252.

‡ Vid. Selden. de Success. in Pontif. lib. ii. cap. 7. Oper. vol. 2. p. 183. præsertim de Synedr. lib. iii. cap. ii. §. 3. Op. vol. 1. tom. 2. p. 1689,—1711.

(a) Exod. xxviii. 43.

ments, to minister in the priest's office (a)." Accordingly Josephus, speaking of the priests, saith, they were habited like the common people; adding, he only who ministers, wears the sacred vestments*. It is reasonably supposed, that some of the "chambers built round about against the wall of the temple (b)," were vestries, in which the priests dressed for their ministry, and laid up the sacred vestments when the service was over. This is confirmed by the following passage in Ezekiel's vision of the temple and the holy service, "When they go forth into the outer court, even into the court of the people, they shall put off their garments, wherein they ministered and lay them in the holy chambers; and they shall put on other garments (c)." This remark, perhaps, may furnish us with the best account of Paul's not knowing the high-priest, Annanias, when he appeared before him in the Sanhedrim (d), because being not engaged in any duty of his ministerial function, he had not on his pontifical robes, nor was distinguished by any particular habit; and as in those times the high-priest was often changed by the roman power, so as rather to have become an annual officer, than as he ought to have been according to the law of Moses, one for life, and as Paul was now grown a stranger at Jerusalem, it is very probable, he might never have seen him before; or if he had, in his pontifical robes in
the

(a) chap. xxxix. 41.

* Vid. Joseph. de bell. Jud. lib. v. cap. vi. §. 7. and Selden's observations on the passage, in his treatise de Synedr. ubi supra, p. 1711.

(b) 1 Kings vi. 5. (c) Ezek. xliv. 19. (d) Acts xxiii. 5.

the temple, where he had lately attended for seven days successively (*a*); he might not have taken such particular notice of his person as readily to know him again, in another place and another dress. This I take to be an easier solution than to render *εὐκρινος* (as some do) "I acknowledge him not to be high-priest," on account of his procuring the office by corruption and bribery; or to suppose, with Dr. Whitby, that the same prophetick impulse which had moved him to utter that prophecy against him, "God shall smite thee, thou whited wall (*b*)," did not suffer him to consider, just at that time, that it was the high-priest to whom he spoke.

Godwin saith, the high-priest might not wear his sacred garments abroad in the city, unless on some urgent occasion; as when Simeon the just went forth to meet Alexander. But his name, according to Josephus was not Simeon the just, but Jaddua *, his grandfather †.

2dly, The sacerdotal vestments were provided at the expence, not of the priests, but of the people ‡. As for the pontifical vestes aureæ, which were exceeding rich and costly, they are supposed to have been provided out of the publick treasury; and the other sacerdotal garments, either the same way, or by free will offerings. We are told (*c*), that "when some of the chief of the fathers came to see the temple,

(*a*) Acts xxi. 27. (*b*) Acts xxiii. 3.

* Antiq. lib. xi. cap. viii. §. 4. 5. tom. 1. p. 580.—582. See also an account of the affair in Prideaux's connect. part 1. book 7. sub anno 332. ante Christ.

† Compare Joseph. Antiq. ubi supra, §. 7. p. 582. with lib. xii. cap. ii. §. 4. p. 589.

‡ Maimon. de apparatu templi, cap. viii. §. vii. p. 142. Crenii Fascic sext.

(*c*) Ezra ii. 68, 69.

temple, which was rebuilding after the captivity, they gave according to their ability unto the treasure of the work, not only gold and silver, but an hundred priests garments." Again, "The Tirshatha, or Nehemiah, the governor, gave to the treasury (besides gold and silver there mentioned) five hundred and thirty priests garments (a)." And "the rest of the people gave sixty seven (b)."

The Talmudists and Maimonides say, that all free will offerings of that sort must be given to the whole congregation, that is, to the officers, who managed its concerns; insomuch that if the mother of a priest brought her son a garment, it was to be given not to him, but to them *, and they might assign the use of it to whom they pleased. Indeed it does not seem likely, the sacerdotal garments should be the property of particular priests, and worn by them only; especially when the priests were divided, as they were in David's time, into twenty four courses, and each inferior priest officiated at the temple, only a fortnight in a year. They were designed therefore for the common use of the priests, as they came in their turns to minister.

3dly, The rabbies say, that when the garments of the inferior priests were grown foul, they were not washed, but cut into shreds, to make wicks for the lamps of the sanctuary; and when the high-priests vestments were left

VOL. I.

R

off,

(a) Nehem. vii. 70. (b) ver. 72.

* Gemar. Hierosolym. tit. Shek. cap. iv. See this, and a quotation from the Babylonian Gemara, and from Maimonides, in Braunius de Vestitu, lib. ii. cap. xxiv. §. xv, p. 839. edit. Amstel. 1680. cap. xxv. §. dccviii. p. 667. edit 1701.

off, they were put to no further use, but hid in some secret place*. But of this the scripture says nothing.

4thly, You will observe, that neither the high-priest, nor those of the lower order, wore any thing either on their hands or feet, while they were employed in their ministry. There is no garment assigned to either, in any scripture catalogue. The sacrificial services, in which the priests were chiefly employed, would not conveniently admit of their wearing gloves; and in publick worship to be bearfoot seems to have been reckoned a token of reverence even before the giving of the law. For when God appeared to Moses in the bush, he commanded him to “put his shoes from off his feet, because the place whereon he stood was holy ground (*a*).” In those days this was an usual token of reverence during divine worship, when men considered themselves as in the more immediate presence of God. It was fit therefore, Moses should express the same kind of religious veneration in a place, which God, by manifesting himself in so extraordinary a manner, was pleased to render, *pro tempore*, a temple, or holy place. For the same reason Joshua is commanded to pay the like homage before the “captain of the host of the Lord (*b*);” who was undoubtedly “the angel of God’s presence, in whom his name is,” even the divine *Λόγος*: for it is said, Joshua “fell on his face to the earth, and worshipped him (*c*).” This we cannot suppose he would have done, if he had

* Vid. Braun. ubi supra, cap. xxv. §. xi. p. 858,—861. edit. Amstel. 1680. cap. xxvi. §. dccxx. p. 682,—683. edit. 1701.

(*a*) Exod. iii. 5. (*b*) Josh. v. 15. (*c*) ver. 14.

had esteemed him only a created angel, or that if he had done it, his worship would not have met with such a rebuke, as the angel gave to St. John, "See thou do it not; for I am thy fellow-servant,—worship God (*a*).” The jewish priests, according to the rabbies, were required to be superstitiously exact in this ceremony; for if any thing intervened between their feet and the ground, they imagined, their ministry would be null and invalid*.

It may not be improper, here, to remark, that as the Jews accounted it a token of reverence to have their feet bare in publick worship, so likewise to have their heads covered. This was accordingly the practise, not only of the priests, but of the people, as at this day it is, in token of their modesty and humility, and of their accounting themselves unworthy to look up in the more immediate presence of God. Thus on the divine appearance to Moses in the bush, it is said, "he hid his face, for he was afraid to look upon God (*b*).” And on the extraordinary manifestation of the divine presence to Elijah, he "wrapped his face in his mantle (*c*).” On the same account, perhaps, the angels were represented in vision to Isaiah, as "covering their faces with their wings in the presence of Jehovah (*d*);” to have the head uncovered, being esteemed a mark of confidence. For which reason, in those places, where the Israelites are said to have "marched out of Egypt with an high hand," the chaldee

R 2

paraphrast

(*a*) Rev. xxii. 9.

* Vid. Mish. tit. Zebhac. cap. ii. § 1. R. Bartenor. & Maimon. in loc. tom. 5. p. 10. edit. Surenhus. & Maimon. de ratione adeundi Templi, cap. v. §. xvii, xix. p. 202, 203. Crenii Fasciculi sexti.

(*b*) Exod. iii. 6. (*c*) 1 Kings xix. 13. (*d*) Isaiah iv. 2.

paraphrast renders it “bare-headed,” that is, with boldness and intrepidity.

The ancient Romans, likewise, performed their sacred rites with a veil or covering on their heads, as appears from these lines in Virgil,

Quin, ubi transmissæ steterint trans æquora
classes,

Et positis aris jam vota in littore solves ;

Purpureo velare comas adopertus amictu :

Ne qua inter sanctos ignes in honore Deorum

Hostilis facies occurrat, & omina turbet.

Æneid. 3. l. 403, &c.

Again,

Spes est pacis, ait. Tum numina sancta pre-
camur

Palladis armisonæ, quæ prima accepit ovantes :

Et capita ante aras Phrygio velamur amictu.

Ibid. l. 543, &c.

The Grecians, on the contrary, performed the sacred rites bareheaded. Illic (nempe in æde Saturni) Græco ritu, capite aperto, res divina fit, saith Macrobius *. St. Paul therefore writing to the Corinthians, who were Greeks, declares, that “every man praying, or prophesying, with his head covered, dishonoureth his head (a) ;” thereby teaching us, that though the circumstances of dress, as well as gesture, in divine worship are in themselves indifferent ; yet such are proper to be used, as the custom
of

* Saturnal. lib. i. cap. viii. p. 222, 223. edit. Gronov. Lugd. Bat. 1670.

(a) 1 Cor. xi. 4

of the country where we dwell, has rendered significative of humility and reverence.

5thly, The sacerdotal vestments are all supposed to have a moral and typical signification, though the more immediate design of them, especially of the pontifical vestes aureæ, was “for glory and for beauty (a).” For the whole ceremonial worship had “a shadow of good things to come (b);” and it is said of the priests in particular, that they “served unto the example and shadow of heavenly things (c).” Concerning the typical and spiritual meaning of these vestments, as pretty commonly represented by Christians, consult Mather’s sermon on this subject in his “Types unveiled.” As for the jews, they discover a world of philosophy in them. Josephus * makes the high-priest’s linnen garment represent the body of the earth; the glorious robe, heaven; the bells and pomegranates, thunder and lightning. Or otherwise, the ephod of various colours is the universe; the breast-plate, the earth in its centre; the girdle, the sea; the onyx stone on each shoulder, the sun and moon; the twelve stones in the breast-plate, the twelve signs of the Zodiac, or the twelve months in the year; the mitre, heaven; and the golden plate with the name of God engraven on it, the splendor of the divine majesty in heaven. Philo philosophises on them in a similar manner †.

R 3

But

(a) Exod. xxviii. 2. (b) Heb. x. 1. (c) chap. viii. 5.

* Antiq. lib. lii. cap. vii. §. ult. tom. i. p. 156, 157. edit. Haverc.

† Philo. Jud. de Somniis, apud opera, p. 453, 464. de vitâ Moïsis, lib. iii. p. 518,—521. de Monarch. lib. ii. p. 636, 637. edit. Colon. Allob. 1613.

But the talmudical doctors assign them a more religious and moral signification; the eight garments denoting circumcision, which was to be performed on the eighth day; and each garment being to expiate a particular sin; the breeches uncleanness; the girdle, theft; the ephod, idolatry; the breast-plate, perverse judgment; the bells, evil speaking; the mitre, and the golden plate on the forehead, pride and impudence*.

The Cocceian divines, who have great talents at allegorizing, find out in them, in a manner, all spiritual blessings and graces. Braunius in particular, makes the mitre signify wisdom; the robe, righteousness; the breeches, sanctification; and the girdle, redemption: all which "Christ is made of God unto believers (a)." By the other vestments are denoted the principal benefits of the gospel; election and adoption, by the ephod and the pectoral; vocation, or effectual calling, by the bells; faith by the golden crown, &c. &c. These divines, as well as some of the ancients have permitted their fancies to make excursions beyond the bounds of reason and good sense. Nevertheless those who will admit of no typical meaning in any of these things, go into a contrary extreme. It will be happy, if we can hit the just medium, in attempting which the scripture will be our best guide.

Three

* Vid. Braun. de vestitu sacerd. hebræor. lib. ii. cap. xxvi. §. ix. x. p. 878,—881. edit. Amstel. 1680. cap. xxvii. §. dccxlv, dccxlv. p. 707,—709. edit. 1701.

(a) 1 Cor. i. 30.

† Ubi supra, §. xvi, xvii. p. 887,—889. edit. Amstel. 1680. §. dccliii, dccliv. p. 713,—715. edit. 1701.

C. V. Sacrifices at the consecration. 247

Three rites of the consecration both of the high-priest, and the common priests, their washing, anointing, and cloathing, being considered, there remains a

4th, The offering certain sacrifices according to the prescription in the book of Exodus (*a*). These were a young bullock, and two rams, beside unleavened bread, cakes and wafers (*b*); the bullock for a sin offering, one ram for a burnt offering, both which were entirely consumed with fire (*c*): and the other ram and the bread in the nature of a peace offering, part only of which was consumed on the altar, and the rest eat by the priests, for whom the sacrifices were offered (*d*).

The first of these sacrifices, which was the sin offering, was to signify, that till their sins were expiated, they were not fit to perform any acceptable service, much less to offer sacrifice, or make atonement for the sins of the people.

The second, which was the Holocaust, or whole burnt offering, was in the nature of a gift or present, whereby they were recommended to God.

The third was a peace offering, on which they made a feast, and by that were initiated into his family*.

The ram of the peace offering is called in the Hebrew אֵיל מִלּוּיִם *eil milluim*, aries impletionum (*e*): which Ainsworth renders "the ram of filling the hand;" because "the part, which was to be consumed on the altar, was

R 4 first

(*a*) chap. xxix.

(*b*) ver. 1, 2.

(*c*) ver. 13, 14, 18.

(*d*) ver. 19,—28.

* See Patrick on Exod. xxix. 10.

(*e*) ver. 22.

248 Sacrifices at the consecration. B. I.

first put into the hands of Aaron, and into the hands of his sons (a).”

Rabbi Solomon gives a different reason for the ram's being called **עֵיל מִלּוּיִם** *eil milluim*, from **מָלֵא** *malè*, *plenus vel completus est*; because the offering of this sacrifice compleated the consecration, and thereupon the priests were fully invested in their office. Accordingly the septuagint renders **מִלּוּיִם** *milluim* by *τελειωσις* consummation; and hence perhaps the apostle, speaking of Christ, under the character of a priest, saith, he is *εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τετελειωμένος* (b), consummated or perfected for ever.

Godwin takes particular notice of two circumstances in these sacrifices.

1st, That some of the blood of the ram of consecration was put upon the tip of the right ear, and the thumb of the right hand, and the great toe of the right foot, of the priests who were consecrated (c). Probably it was put upon their ear, as denoting the attention they especially, ought to give to God's word, that they might be thoroughly instructed in the duties of their office, and be fit to be teachers of others; for attention to the word of God, or care and diligence in learning his mind and will, is expressed by “opening the ear (d).”

The touching the right thumb with the same blood was to signify, that they were to attend with diligence on the work of their ministry; which is called “the work of their hands (e).” This phrase is expressive of any sort of active service. It is said in the Acts, that “by the hands of the apostles were many signs and wonders

(a) ver. 24. (b) Heb. vii. 28. (c) Exod. xxix.
20. (d) Job xxxvi. 10. Isa. l. 5. (e) Deut. xxxii.
31.

C. V. Consecration of the priests. 249

ders wrought among the people (*a*);” though some of these were wrought only by speaking (*b*); and others, by their shadow overshadowing the diseased (*c*).

Since the right hand only was consecrated by the sacrificial blood, the rabbies say, if a priest made use of his left, instead of his right in performing any part of the service, it polluted it. *

The touching of the great toe with the blood is supposed to signify, that they ought to take great heed, that their conversation might be holy, without blame, and such as became the ministers of God: for the conversation is frequently expressed by walking (*d*). And the application of the sacrificial blood to all these parts of the body, was doubtless intended to denote, that all must be sanctified and rendered acceptable to God by the blood of Christ.

The other circumstance which our author remarks is, that “at the consecration of the priests, certain pieces of the sacrifices were put into their hands;” as was before observed. On which account their consecration itself is expressed by “filling their hands (*e*),” ומלאת וּמִלֵּאת אֶת-יָדֵיהֶם *umillèath eth-jadham*, & implebis manum eorum. Our author from hence derives the custom in the church of England, or as he is pleased to express it in the christian church, of the bishop’s giving a bible into the hand of the minister to be ordained; “BOTH WHICH, he saith, may signify, that no man taketh that honour

(*a*) Acts v. 12.

(*b*) ver. 5.

(*c*) ver. 15, 16.

* Mishn. & Bartenor, & Maimon. in loc. ubi supra. Maimon. de ratione adeundi Temple, ubi supra, §. xviii.

(*d*) Psal. i. 1. xv. 2. Prov. x. 9. Isa. xxxiii. 15. Phil. iii. 17. Gal. ii. 14. and in many other places, both of the Old and New Testament. (*e*) Exod. xxviii. 41.

honour to himself, but he that is called of God, as was Aaron :” and adds, “ Contrary to this did Jeroboam’s priests ; whoever would, he filled his own hands (a) :” that is, “ he thrust himself into the priesthood.” I hope our author did not intend this comparison to Jeroboam’s priests for a reflexion on all ministers not episcopally ordained according to the rites of the english establishment. However, I beg leave, to observe, that the words in Kings *הַחֹפֶץ יָמְלֵא אֶת־יָדוֹ* *hechaphets jemallè eth jadho*, should rather be rendered, *Ejus qui voluit implevit manum*, that is, Jeroboam filled the hand of him that would. Yet, because our king appoints to the episcopal office, whom he pleases, far be it from me to compare our bishops to Jeroboam’s priests.

Godwin remarks some peculiarities, by which the high-priest was distinguished from the common priests.

1st, He must marry none but a virgin (b). Therefore, he was exempt from the law of marrying his brother’s widow, in case he died without children (c). Our author says, another priest may lawfully marry a widow ; and Josephus says the same *. But there is no such express permission in the law ; only it is, inferred from a widow’s not being mentioned among those whom a common priest is forbid to marry (d). Nevertheless Grotius is of opinion, the common priests had not this liberty, unless with respect to the widows of priests. This he grounds on the following passage of Ezekiel,

(a) 1 Kings xiii. 33.

(b) Lev. xxi. 13, 14.

(c) Deut. xxv. 5.

* Antiq. lib. iii. cap. xii. §. 2. tom. i. p. 183. edit. Haverc.

(d) Lev. xxi. 7.

C. V. Peculiarities of the high-priest. 251

Ezekiel, "Neither shall they (that is, any priests) take for their wives a widow, or her that is put away; but they shall take maidens of the seed of the house of Israel, or a widow that had a priest before (a)." However, it is certain the high-priest might marry none but a virgin; and the rabbies have determined the age she must be, at the time of her marriage, within less than half a year, betwixt twelve years old and a day, and twelve years and a half. For they observe, she must not only be a virgin בתולה bethulah, but he must marry her before she comes to the age of puberty, בבתולה bibhthuleiha, in her virginity; which, they say, was circumscribed within the short period I have mentioned*.

We may further observe, they are much more liberal to the king than to the priest; allowing the former eighteen wives, the latter, but one; at least if he did take another, they say, he must give a bill of divorce to one of them before the great day of expiation, otherwise he would be incapable of performing the services then required†.

2dly, The high priest must not mourn for the death of his nearest kindred. He "shall not uncover his head, nor rent his clothes; neither shall he go in to any dead body, nor defile himself for his father, or for his mother. Neither shall he go out of the sanctuary, nor profane the sanctuary of his God (b)." The ceremonies of mourning, here prohibited, are such,

(a) Ezek. xliv. 22. See Grotii Annot. ad Lev. xxi. 14.

* Vid. Selden. uxor. hebr. lib. ii. cap. 7. oper. vol. 2. tom. 2. p. 555, 556.

† Selden. ubi supra, cap. 8. p. 561, 562.

(b) Lev. xxi. 10,—12.

such, as would not consist with his attending the service of the sanctuary, and the reason of the law is, that the publick worship of God, in which the presence and ministration of the high-priest was in many cases necessary, might not be interrupted.

The ceremonies, forbidden, are

1st, Uncovering his head. The septuagint renders ראשו לא יפרע *roshu lo jiphrang*, τὴν κεφαλὴν οὐκ ἀποκιδάσσει, *caput non nudabit cidari*; or if I may be allowed the expression, he shall not unmitre his head: a phrase, which, though it is not an exact translation, does not improperly convey the true design of the law, which was, to prevent his omitting the duties of his office on occasion of the death even of his nearest relations; which he must have done, if he had complied with the custom of uncovering his head, or laying aside his mitre, that being one of the holy garments, without which it was unlawful for him to officiate (a). The chaldee paraphrase renders the word very differently from the septuagint: in capite suô non nutriat comam. Ainsworth saith, the hebrew word פרע *pharang*, signifies, both to make bare and to make free; Onkelos, it seems, taking it in the latter sense, understands the meaning of the law to be, that the hair should not be left to grow free, without trimming. In this manner, we are told by Herodotus, the Egyptians used to express their mourning for the dead*; letting the hair grow long, and in a negligent form, being considered as a mark of inattention to themselves, through excessive grief.

(a) Exod. xxviii. 36,—38.

* Herodot. Euterp. cap. 36. p. 101. edit. Gronov. Ludg. Bat. 1715.

C. V. Peculiarities of the high-priest. 253

grief. Mephibosheth was in such deep concern for David on account of Absalom's rebellion, that "he neither trimmed his beard, nor washed his cloaths, from the day the king departed from Jerusalem, until the day he came again in peace (a)." If we understand the law according to the sense of Onkelos, it is either designed to prevent the high-priest's symbolizing with the Heathens, in the rites of mourning, or to preserve decency in publick worship, it not being fit that the chief minister in the sanctuary should appear with his hair long and neglected, as mourners sometimes did.

However both among the Jews and the neighbouring nations, it was a more usual sign of mourning, not only to uncover, but even to shave their heads. When Job was informed of his repeated losses, and of the death of his children, "he rent his mantle, and shaved his head (b)." And in the prophecy of Jeremiah we read of fourscore men who were going to lament the desolation of Jerusalem, having their beards shaven, and their cloaths rent (c). That this was usual among the Persians appears from the following passage of Quintus Curtius: *Persæ, comis suo more detonsis, in lugubri veste, cum conjugibus ac liberis, (Alexandrum) non ut victorem, & modo hostem, sed ut gentis suæ justissimum regem vero desiderio lugebant **. And that the same rites was in use among other nations, appears from Suetonius in his life of Caligula, where, after observing, that on the death of Cæsar Germanicus, some barbarous nations at war among

(a) 2 Sam. xix. 24. (b) Job i. 20. (c) Jer. xli. 5.

* Quint. Curt. de gestis Alexand. lib. x. cap. v. §. 17.

among themselves, and with the Romans, agreed to a cessation of hostilities, as if their grief had been of a domestic nature, and on an occasion which alike concerned them both, he adds, *Regulos quosdam (ferunt) barbari possuisse & uxorum capita rasisse, ad indicium maximi luctûs* *.

We meet with frequent references to this rite of mourning in scripture. In the prophet Jeremiah: "Cut off thy hair, O Jerusalem; take up a lamentation (*a*)."

In the prophet Micah: "Make thee bald, and poll thee for thy delicate children; for they are gone into captivity (*b*)."

In Isaiah: "The Lord shall shave with a razor, that is hired, namely, by them beyond the river, by the king of Assyria, the head, and the hair of the feet; and it shall also consume the beard:" referring to the Assyrian captivity (*c*). And by the same prophet baldness is mentioned among the signs of mourning (*d*). And so by Jeremiah: "every head shall be bald, and every beard clipt." Which is thus explained, "There shall be lamentation generally, upon all the house tops of Moab (*e*)."

And once more, "Neither shall men lament for them, nor cut themselves, nor make themselves bald for them (*f*)."

Upon the whole then, the prohibition of the high-priest's uncovering his head for the dead probably means, not only that he must not appear without his mitre, but that he must not shave his head; nor yet on the other hand let his hair grow long and neglected. Both these extremes are

* In vitâ Calig. cap. v. §. 3, 4. tom. 1. p. 768. edit. Pitiscii, Traject ad Rhen. 1990.

(*a*) Jer. vii. 29. (*b*) Mic. i. 16. (*c*) Isa. vii. 20.
 (*d*) chap. xxii. 12. (*e*) Jer. xlviii. 37, 38. (*f*) Jer. xvi. 6.

C.V. Peculiarities of the high-priest. 255

are expressly prohibited: "Neither shall they, that is, the priests, shave their heads, nor suffer their locks to grow long (a)."

2dly, The high-priest must not rent his cloaths, in token of mourning for the dead; which was anciently much practised by the Jews and other nations. Quintus Curtius saith, that when Darius was on the point of being seized by Bessus and the Bactrians, in order to be delivered up to Alexander, and the only domestick left about him made such loud lamentations as alarmed the camp, *irrupere deinde alii laceratisque vestibus, lugubri & barbaro ululatu regem deplorare cœperunt* *. Virgil says of Amata, that apprehending Turnus was dead,

Se causam clamat, crimenque caputque malorum,

*Multaque per mœstum demens effata furorem,
Purpureos moritura manu discindit amictus,
Et nodum informis lethi trabe nectit ab altâ.*

Æneid. 12. l. 600,—603.

And Latinus her husband, hearing of her unhappy fate,

—It scissâ veste Latinus

Conjugis attonitus fatis urbisque ruina.

l. 609, 610.

So Juvenal, describing the funeral rites, with which Priam would have been honoured, had he died before Paris committed the rape of Helen, saith,

Incolumi

{a) Ezek. xlv. 20.

* Quint. Curt. de gestis Alexand. Magn. lib. v. cap. 12. §. 12. p. 358. edit. Ludg. Bat. 1696.

Incolumi Trojâ Priamus venisset ad umbras
 Assaraci magnis solemnibus, Hectore funus
 Portante, ac reliquis fratrum cervicibus, inter
 Iliadum lacrymas, ut primos edere planctus
 Cassandra inciperet, scissâque Polyxena palla.

Satyr. x. l. 258, 262.

We have this rite of mourning frequently mentioned in scripture, as practised on various occasions; particularly, on the death of relations or friends, as by Reuben and his father Jacob on the supposed death of Joseph (*a*); and by David on the death of Saul and Jonathan (*b*): sometimes it was practised on account of great injuries received, as by Tamar, when she had been abused by her brother Amnon (*c*): or on account of the infliction or denunciation of publick judgments; for which reason it is mentioned as a sign of great stupidity in king Jehoiakim and his courtiers, that when they read in a roll of Jeremiah's prophecy, what judgments God threatened to bring upon the nations, "they were not afraid, nor rent their garments (*d*)."
 Again it was practised, when they heard blasphemy or any other profane contempt of God, as by king Hezekiah and his officers, when they heard the blasphemous railing of Rabshakeh (*e*). The rabbies indeed say, it was to be practised only on hearing blasphemy from one of their own nation, and therefore they conclude Rabshakeh was an apostate Jew*. In this way they expressed

(*a*) Gen. xxxvii. 29,—34.

(*b*) 2 Sam. i. 11.

(*c*) 2 Sam. xiii. 19.

(*d*) Jer. xxxvi. 24.

(*e*) Isa.

xxxvi. 22. and chap. xxxvii. 1.

* In libro Præceptorum. See the passage quoted by Drusius, on Matt. xxvi. 65,

pressed their detestation of either words or actions that were affrontive to the deity. When, therefore, the priest and people at Lystra would have paid divine honours to Paul and Barnabas, "they rent their cloaths (*a*).” And this Caiaphas did, when our Saviour declared himself to be the son of God; on which account he charged him with blasphemy (*b*). Upon this a question has been started, whether, he did not herein act contrary to the law in Leviticus, which, in two places under a severe penalty forbids the high-priest rending his cloaths (*c*). Grotius observes, the occasion in both cases was the death of relations, and that there is no express prohibition which extends to any other occasion*. Besides, these were both very peculiar and extraordinary cases. The one was, the death of Nadab and Abihu by the immediate hand of God, for offering strange fire on the altar; when neither their father nor their brethren were permitted to shew any sign of mourning, lest it should look like arraiging the divine justice; and perhaps it might be intended as an additional punishment to them, that they should not only be struck dead, but die unlamented. The latter prohibition (*d*) is in the case of the priest's daughter playing the harlot, for which she was to be burnt with fire (*e*); and then it follows, he, that is, the high-priest, shall not uncover his head, nor rent his cloaths; because, on such an occasion, it would look like a reflection on the legislator, or on the law itself. However, if the prohibition be supposed

VOL. I.

S

to

(*a*) Acts xiv. 14.
x. 6. and chap. xxi. 10.

(*b*) Matt. xxvi. 65.

(*c*) Lev.

* Agreeable to the chaldee paraphrast in loc.

(*d*) chap. xxi. 10.

(*e*) ver. 9.

258 Peculiarities of the high-priest. B. I.

to extend to all cases, it probably related to the sacerdotal vestments only, which were not to be rent on any occasion *. And so it is certain the Jews in later ages understood it; for it is said in the first book of Maccabees (a), that Jonathan the high-priest, on the defeat and flight of his army, “rent his cloaths.” And in Josephus we are informed, that to appease a popular commotion, excited by the cruelties of Florus, procurator of Judea, the principal persons, and particularly the high-priests, rent their garments, *τας εδητας περιεερριξαντο*, and on their knees besought the people not to push things to extremity, lest the consequence should be their ruin. And when the tumult which was thus allayed, was like to be revived, they had recourse to the same expedient, *τας δε αρχιερεως αυτας ην ιδεν καταρωμενους μεν της κεφαλης κονιν, γυμνος δε τα σενα των εδηταν περιεερριξαντων* †. The rabbies say, the high-priest was allowed to rent his cloaths at the bottom, but not from the top to the bottom ‡, which was the common way. They tell us moreover, that it must be done standing, which they ground on the example of David who, it is said, on a report that Absalom had slain all his brethren, arose and tore his garments (b). They add, that the rent must not be more than a hand’s breadth, and that it must be made in the

* Selden. de jure natur. & gent. lib. ii. cap. 12. oper. vol. i. tom. 1. p. 271, 272.

(a) chap. xi. 71.

† De bello Judaic. lib. ii. cap. xv. §. 2, 4. edit. Haverc.

‡ Mishn. tit Horajoth, cap. 3. §. 5. tom. iv. p. 501; edit. Surenhus.

(b) 2 Sam. xiii. 31.

C. V. Peculiarities of the high-priest. 259

the upper garment, and in the fore part of it*.

The third peculiarity of the high-priest, consisted in his presiding over the inferior priests in taking care that all things were conducted with decency, and according to the law, and in performing himself some appropriate parts of the divine service.

Godwin saith, that both the high-priest and the inferior priests burnt incense, and offered sacrifices (*a*), and even slew the victims (*b*); that they both sounded the trumpet, either for an alarm in war, or to assemble the people, and their rulers (*c*); that they both instructed the people (*d*), and both judged and determined concerning leprosy (*e*): and he might have added, concerning cases of adultery by the waters of jealousy (*f*); and concerning things vowed or devoted, the former being redeemable at a valuation, or price set by the priest, the latter, not (*g*).

It belonged likewise to the priests to set on and remove the shew-bread, to tend and supply the lamps (*h*), to burn the red heifer (*i*), to bless the people (*k*), and to keep watch in three several places of the temple (*l*). No doubt the high-priest had power or authority in virtue of his office, to perform any part of the sacerdotal service, and several of the articles already mentioned are expressly declared to pertain to him

S 2

as

* Vid. Maimon. de iuctu, cap. 8. §. 1, 2.

(*a*) 1 Chron. vi. 49. (*b*) 2 Chron. xxix. 22.
 (*c*) Num. x. 1,—8. (*d*) Lev. x. 11. Deut. xvii. 8,—12. Mal. ii. 7. (*e*) Lev. xiii. 2. (*f*)
 Numb. v. 19. (*g*) Lev. xxvii. 8, 28. (*h*) Lev. xxiv. 1,—9.
 (*i*) Numb. xix. 2. (*k*) Numb. vi. 23,—27. (*l*) 2 Chron. xxiii. 4.

as well as to the inferior priests; however some of the more laborious parts of the service, were ordinarily performed by the inferior priests under his direction.

On the other hand he had his peculiar province, the principal branches of which were enquiring of the Lord, and giving answers by Urim and Thummim, and performing the most holy parts of the divine service, especially on the great annual fast, or day of expiation; when clothed in his linnen garments, he went alone into the holy of holies; and there burnt incense and sprinkled some of the blood of the sacrifice upon the mercy seat (*a*).

The duties of his office on that day will be considered in their place, when we are treating of the jewish festivals.

It is however proper, here to take notice of what our author observes concerning the high-priest's suffragan or deputy, called שֹׁפֵט *sagan*, as some write it, or as others שֹׁפֵט *segen*; who, in case of the high-priest's incapacity by sickness or any legal uncleanness, discharged his office for him. The word שֹׁפֵט *sagan*, in the singular number, is never used in scripture; but the plural שֹׁפֵטִים *seganim*, several times occurs, and seems always to import secular rulers or governors; as particularly in the book of Nehemiah, where the שֹׁפֵטִים *seganim*, are joined with the nobles, and are not improperly called rulers in the english version (*b*). In Isaiah (*c*), we stile them princes; and Daniel is said to be made chief of the *seganim*, which we there render governors (*d*). And certain it is, his

was

(*a*). Lev. xvi. throughout, and Heb. ix. 7.

(*b*) Nehem. iv. 14, — 19.

(*c*) Isa. xli. 25.

(*d*) Dan. ii. 48.

C. V. Peculiarities of the high-priest. 261

was not an ecclesiastical, but civil office. So that in all those places, and wherever else the word occurs in the hebrew bible, it evidently imports secular dignity and authority. Nevertheless the singular noun Sagan is often used by the hebrew doctors for an ecclesiastical person. The targum of Jonathan, on the second book of Kings, renders the priest of the second order," the sagan of the priests (*a*), and calls "Zephaniah, the second priest," the sagan (*b*). And in the prophecy of Jeremiah it in one place styles him (*c*); and in another, Pashur (*d*), the sagan of the priests. It is agreed on all hands that the sagan was next to the high-priest, and his vicegerent; but for what end he was appointed, and what were the duties of his office is disputed. One opinion, espoused by Cunæus *, is, that he was only to officiate for the high-priest, in case he was rendered incapable of attending the service through sickness, or legal uncleanness, on the day of expiation. Josephus gives an instance of the service of that day being performed by one Joseph the son of Eli, as deputy or sagan of the high-priest Matthias, who the night before had been accidentally rendered unclean †; and Mr. Selden ‡ informs us, out of the Jerusalem and babylonish talmud, that Simeon the high-priest being rendered unclean by some drops of spittle falling on his garments the day before, his brother Judah officiated as his sagan on the

S 3

day

(*a*) On 2 Kings xxiii. 4. (*b*) On 2 Kings xxv. 18.

(*c*) Jer. lii. 24. (*d*) Jer. xx. 1.

* De republ. Hebr. lib. ii. cap. vi.

† Antiq. lib. xvii. cap. vi. §. 4. edit. Haverc.

‡ De success. in Pontificat. lib. i. cap. xii. apud opera, vol. 1. tom. 1. p. 145, 146. Londini, 1720.

day of expiation. The patrons of this opinion tell us, the sagan was appointed the preceding evening, and for the service of that day only. So that, according to them, there was a new sagan every year; or at least, he was appointed anew to his office. The mishnaical book Joma * tells us farther, that they not only appointed a sagan for the high-priest, in case he should be polluted; but likewise a wife in case his wife should die on that day, or the night before. For it is said, "He shall make atonement for himself, and for his house (a)." Now a house, it is said, implies a wife, which therefore he must not be without on that day.

After all, the sagan's officiating for the high-priest on the day of expiation has no foundation in scripture, by which no man is allowed to officiate in the holy of holies but the high-priest; and if therefore, he was sick, or otherwise disabled, that part of the service must, no doubt, be omitted; which in case of necessity it might be without such bad consequence as the rabbies apprehend, who make the efficacy of all the sacrifices of the ensuing year to depend upon it.

Others think the sagan was the high-priest's vicar or suffragan, to assist him in the care of (and in his absence to oversee) the affairs of the temple and the service of the priests. Dr. Lightfoot, in support of this opinion, observes †, that the sagan is commonly called both in the targum ‡, and by the rabbies

יָדוּן

* Cap. §. 1. tom. 2. p. 206. edit. Surenhus.

(a) Lev. xvi. 6.

† Temple service, chap. 5. §. 1. and Horæ hebraicæ or Luke iii. 2.

‡ See Targum Jonathan in 2 Kings xxv. 18. and Jer, lii. 24.

סגן הכהנים *sagan haccoanim*, the *sagan* of the priests; which seems to import, that his office referred as much, (if not more,) to the common priests, as to the high-priest. Maimonides in particular says *, “all the priests were at the command of the *sagan*.” According to this opinion, his office was not for a day only, but probably for life; at least, till he became superannuated, or till the high-priest’s death. Some say he was always heir apparent to the high-priesthood, and that none could be high-priest, who had not first been *sagan* †. To this Dr. Lightfoot objects, not only that it could not be the case under the second temple, and after the days of Herod, when the pontifical dignity was at the arbitrary disposal of the roman presidents, who preferred to it whom they pleased; but even in earlier ages, when the succession was legal and regular, we don’t find that he, whom the targum calls *sagan*, always succeeded on a demise. There is not the least intimation, that Zephaniah, who in the second book of kings is called the second priest or *sagan*, was the son of Seraiah the high-priest, or succeeded him in his office (a).

Upon the whole, it is probable, that he who was next in the succession to the high-priesthood was for the most part appointed *sagan*, but not always; since it required a person of learning and experience in the laws and ritual to assist the high-priest, especially if he were a

S 4

weak

* Maimon. de apparatus templi, cap. iv. §. xvi. apud Crenii Fascicul. sext. p. 115.

† R. Solom. in Numb. xix. and Talmud Hierosolym. quoted in Lightfoot’s temple-service, chap. 4.

(a) 2 Kings xxv. 18.

weak man; and therefore it is likely they regarded merit rather than birth in the choice and appointment of this officer.

The divine institution of him is conceived to be in the following passage of the book of Numbers, "Eleazar, the son of Aaron the priest, shall be chief over the chief of the Levites, and have the oversight of them, that keep the charge of the sanctuary (a)." Thus, it appears, there were some among the priests and Levites, who had pre-eminence and authority over their brethren; each, perhaps, being an overseer to a certain number, or presiding in a particular branch of the service of the sanctuary; but Eleazar was chief over these chiefs. Hence, says Ainsworth*, arises the distinction of the high-priest, and the second priest. And when Aaron was dead, and Eleazar, the second priest, was high-priest in his room (b), then Phinehas, Eleazar's son, succeeded him in the office of second priest, or governor over the Levites; for "Phinehas the son of Eleazar is said in the first book of Chronicles to have been ruler over them, that is, the Levites, in time past (c)."

From hence it should seem, the hint was first taken of appointing, besides bishops, who have the oversight of the priests in particular dioceses, archbishops, who have the oversight of the bishops of several dioceses, or are "chief of the chiefs." But the New Testament is totally silent concerning such an institution for the government of the christian church.

The

(a) Numb. iii. 32.

* In loc.

(b) Numb. xx. 26, 28.

(c) 1 Chron. ix. 20;

The rabbies speak of three other sorts of sacerdotal officers, superior to common priests, but inferior to the high-priest and sagan; קתוליקין Katholikin, אמרכלין Immarcalin, and גזברין Gizbarin.

There were two Katholikin of whom Maimonides * gives this short account, that they were to the sagan, as the sagan to the high-priest, namely, substitutes and assistants, and next in place and honour. According to other hebrew writers their office related to the treasures of the temple, and to the management of the revenues, arising from the oblations.

The Immarkalin were seven, who carried the keys of the seven gates of the court, and one could not open them without the rest †. According to which account, each gate must have seven different locks, the keys of which were severally kept by the seven Immarkalin. Some of the rabbies tell us, there were seven rooms at the seven gates; in which the sacred vessels and vestments were kept, under the care of these officers ‡.

The Gizbarin were not to be less than three, who were a sort of treasurers or collectors of the offerings brought to the temple §, which they accounted for to the Immarkalin, and they to the Katholikin, and all under the inspection of the high-priest and sagan. But having no mention of these officers in the sacred scriptures,

* De apparatu templi, cap. iv. §. xvii.

† Maimon. de apparatu templi, ubi supra.

‡ Joseph. ad Shekalim, cap. 5. R. Solom. in 2 Kinyan.
xii. ty

§ Maimon. de apparatu templi, cap. iv. §. xviii. ubi supra.

scriptures, we shall enter into no further particulars concerning them *.

We proceed to speak of the inferior priests. These were grown so numerous in David's time, that it became very inconvenient for them to attend the service at the tabernacle all together. He, therefore, divided them into twenty-four companies, who were to serve in rotation, each company by itself, for a week (*a*). That he did this by divine appointment, appears from the following passage, "David gave to Solomon his son the pattern of all that he had by the spirit, of the courts of the house of the Lord; also for the courses מַחֲלָקוֹת machlekoth, of the priests and the Levites (*b*)."¹¹ These courses are here called מַחֲלָקוֹת machlekoth, from חָלַק chalak, divided; and in Nehemiah, מִשְׁמָרוֹת mishmaroth, from שָׁמַר shamar, custodivit (*c*). The septuagint renders both these words by ἐφημερίαι, in which they are followed by St. Luke, who saith that Zechariah the priest, the father of John the Baptist, was ἐξ ἐφημερίας Ἀβία, of the course of Abia (*d*). The word, ἐφημερία, is derived from the form of the athenian republick. The country of Attica was divided into ten φυλὰς, or tribes; fifty persons were chosen out of each tribe, who composed the senate; and each fifty sat and governed for one day in their turns. Hence their Ἀρχὴ, or form of government, was called ἐφημερος; because their governors were daily changed according to a regular rotation †. Now there being a considerable resemblance

* See Lightfoot's temple service, ubi supra.

(*a*) 1 Chron. xxiv. throughout. (*b*) 1 Chron. xxviii.

11—13. (*c*) Nehem. xiii. 20. (*d*) Luke i. 5.

† Vid. Joseph. Scaliger. de emendatione tempor. lib. i. p. 25 and 62, 63.

semblance betwixt this division and succession of the attick senators, and that of the jewish priests, the septuagint applies the word *συνεστία* to the courses of the priests; though somewhat improperly, because they shifted not daily but weekly, as is concluded from its being said in Chronicles, that the porters of the gate were relieved by their brethren every seven days (*a*); and if the inferior officers relieved one another weekly, it is reasonable to suppose the priests did so too. There is the more reason for this conclusion, because the courses of the priests and of the porters are mentioned together in the account of Solomon's confirming the regulation which his father David had made: "He appointed according to the order of David his father, the courses of the priests to their service, and the Levites to their charge, the porters also by their courses at every gate (*b*)."
The time of shifting the courses seems to have been the sabbath; for the priests are described by this periphrasis, "Those that enter in on the sabbath (*c*)."
So that each course attended the service of the sanctuary, for a week, twice a year.

The jewish writers say the first circulation of the courses began on the first sabbath of the month Nisan, answering to our March and April; and the second on the first sabbath of the month Tizri, answering to our September and October; and so they make two circulations to compleat the Year. But whereas there were but twenty-four courses, which therefore in this double circulation would fill up only
forty-

(*a*) 1 Chron. ix. 25.
(*c*) 2 Kings xi. 5.

(*b*) 2 Chron. viii. 14.

forty-eight weeks, or eleven months, they say the weeks of the three great feasts were not taken into this account; for then all the courses attended, being all obliged by the law to appear before the Lord (*a*). If so, the double circulation of the twenty-four courses would very near compleat the jewish year.

Each course had its respective head, or chief. These are called, "chief men of the houses of their fathers;" of whom there were sixteen, and consequently sixteen courses, of the posterity of Eleazar, and eight of the posterity of Ithamar (*b*). These chiefs of their respective divisions were called שרי הכהנים *farè haccohanim*, princes, or chiefs, of the priests (*c*). These were probably the ἀρχιερεῖς or chief priests so often mentioned in the New Testament (*d*). These chief priests are, in several places, mentioned together with the elders, scribes and pharisees of chief note, as being fellow members of the sanhedrim, the supreme court of judicature.

The order in which the several courses were to serve, was determined by lot (*e*); and each course was, in all succeeding ages, called by the name of its chief at the time of its first division. Thus Zecharias is said to be of the course of Abia, the eighth course; of which Abijah, or Abia, was the chief in David's time (*f*). And Josephus says*, he himself was of the first course, or the course of Jehoiarib upon whom the first lot fell (*g*).

As

(*a*) Exod. xxiii. 17. (*b*) i Chron. xxiv. 4. (*c*)
Ezra viii. 24. chap. x. 5. (*d*) Matt. xvi. 21. xxvii.
12, 41. John vii. 32. xviii. 3. Acts ix. 14. &c. (*e*)
i Chron. xxiv. 5. (*f*) ver. 10.

* Joseph. vita, ab initio.

(*g*) ver. 7.

C. V. The courses of the priests. 269

As the great number of the sacerdotal order occasioned their being first divided into twenty-four companies, so in after times the number of each company grew too large for them all to minister together; for there were no less, according to Josephus, than five thousand priests in one course, in his time*. The Jewish writers, therefore, tell us, that the ministry of each course was divided according to the number of the houses of their fathers that were contained in it†. For instance, if a course consisted of five such houses, three served three days, and the other two, two days apiece. If it contained six, five served five days; and the other, two days. If it contained seven, the priests of each house served a day‡. And they further inform us, that the particular branches of the service were assigned by lot to each priest, whose turn it was to attend on the ministry; as who should kill the sacrifices, who sprinkle the blood, who burn the incense, &c §. Thus St. Luke tells us, that “according to the custom of the priests office, it was the lot of Zecharias to burn incense, when he went into the temple of the Lord (a).” The rabbies say, but four of the courses returned from the captivity, those mentioned in Ezra, namely, “the children of Jedaiah of the house of Joshua, the children

* Joseph. contra Appion. cap. 2. vol. 2. p. 477. edit. Havercamp.

† Maimon. de apparatu templi, cap. iv. §. xi. p. 113. Crenii Fascicul. sext.

‡ Talmud. Hieros. in Taanith, cap. 4. & Thosaph. ad loc. See the passage quoted by Lightfoot, Temple service, chap. vi. sub fine.

§ Mishn. Tamidh, cap. 3. §. 1. tom. v. p. 291. edit. Surenhus.

(a) Luke i. 9.

children of Immer, the children of Pashur, and the children of Harim (a).” And they tell us, in what manner the priests were divided by lot into twenty four courses, which were still called by the ancient names*. But it may be objected to this account, that Pashur was not the ancient head, or name, of any of the twenty-four courses, and that in the catalogue of the priests who returned from the captivity which we have in the twelfth chapter of Nehemiah, there are the names of several others of the chiefs or heads of the courses, besides the three mentioned by Ezra; as Shecaniah, who was the head of the tenth course; Abijah, the head of the eighth; Bilgah, the head of the fifteenth, and Jojarib, who was the head of the first course. It is probable, that the chief of each course was always called by the name of him who was its chief at its first division in the days of David.

Not only were the priests divided into twenty-four courses, but the Levites, and indeed the whole people of Israel; as will be seen when we come to speak of the *viri stationarii*, whom our author mentions towards the close of this chapter.

The Levites, being, in the larger sense of the word, the posterity of the patriarch Levi, the third son of Jacob by Leah, were one of the twelve tribes of Israel; but in a more restrained and peculiar sense, they were a lower order of ecclesiastical persons, inferior to the priests, and their assistants in the sacred service. In this subordinate capacity, were all the

(a) Ezra ii. 36,—39.

* Talmud. Hierol. & Thosaph. ad Taanith, ubi supra.

the males of the tribe of Levi, beside the family of Aaron who were the priests; and it is very observable, that the posterity of Moses were no more then common Levites, while the descendants of his brother Aaron were advanced, by the appointment of his law, to the dignity of the priesthood (*a*). A plain evidence that Moses was influenced by no worldly or ambitious views, or rather that he was not the contriver and author of the law which he gave to Israel, but received it from God; for had he framed it, it is natural to suppose, he would have made some better provision, than he did, for his sons, and for the grandeur of his house, and not have advanced his brother's above his own.

Indeed the Levites were appointed to the service of the sanctuary by God himself for the following reason.

When he miraculously destroyed all the first born of the Egyptians (*b*), he spared the first born of the Israelites; and in order to preserve the memory of the miracle, and of that great deliverance from their bondage in Egypt, which it occasioned, he was pleased to appoint that for the future all the first born males "should be set apart unto himself (*c*)."
But afterward upon the sons of Levi discovering an extraordinary zeal against idolatry in the case, of the golden calf (*d*), he was pleased to assign the honour of attending his immediate service to that whole tribe, instead of the first born of Israel (*e*). And that it might appear, there was a just substitution of the Levites for the first born

(*a*) 1 Chron. xxiii. 13, 14.

(*b*) Exod. xii. 29.

(*c*) Exod. xiii. 12,—16, Numb. viii. 17.

(*d*) Exod.

xxxii. 26,—28,

(*e*) Numb. iii. 12, 13. chap. viii. 18.

born number for number, he ordered an estimate to be made of both; and when, on casting up the poll, the first born were found to exceed the Levites by two hundred seventy-three, the surplus was redeemed at the price of five shekels a head, which was paid to the priests for the use of the sanctuary (a).

The Levites, originally, were distinguished into three classes, or families, from the three sons of Levi, Kohath, Gershon and Merari, called Kohathites, Gershonites and Merarites; though, afterwards by David, as we have already observed, they, as well as the priests, were divided into twenty-four courses (b). A great part of the service assigned them, on their first institution in the wilderness, was peculiar to the state of the Israelites at that time, namely, taking down the tabernacle, setting it up, and carrying it about, as they removed from place to place (c). To the Kohathites was committed the charge of the most sacred things, the ark of the testimony, and all the instruments of the sanctuary. The Gershonites were to take down, carry and put up, the curtains of the tabernacle, and its covering of badger's skins and the veil, or curtains, which served for a door; as also the curtain, which formed the court round it. The Merarites had the care of the boards of the tabernacle, with the bars, pillars and sockets, both of the tabernacle and of the court.

When the Israelites were settled in the land of Canaan, and the tabernacle was no longer carried

(a) Numb. iii. 14. to the end. (b) 1 Chron. xxiii. 6. chap. xxviii. 11, 13.

(c) See the respective service of the classes in the fourth chapter of Numbers.

carried about as before, the service of the Levites was, of course, changed, and became much easier. On which account, in David's time, they were thought fit to enter on their office at twenty years old (*a*); whereas they were not admitted, by the original appointment of Moses, till they were twenty-five or thirty, and were discharged at fifty (*b*); probably, because their service was then very laborious, and required great bodily strength. I say, they were not to enter on their office, till they were twenty-five or thirty years old; —the account in the fourth chapter of Numbers saith, they are to “do the work of the tabernacle of the congregation from thirty years old and upwards;” and in the eight chapter it is said, that “from twenty-five years old and upwards they should go in to wait on the service of the tabernacle of the congregation.” In order to reconcile these two accounts, some suppose that from twenty-five to thirty years of age, they attended only to learn the duties of their office, but did not actually perform any part of the service till they were full thirty. This is the opinion of Maimonides*. But other rabbies† tell us, they entered on the easier and lighter parts of the service, such as keeping watch at the sanctuary, and bearing a part in the choir, at twenty-five; but did not meddle with the more laborious, till thirty. The Jews indeed inform us, that the Levites passed through four different degrees. From

VOL. I.

T

one

(*a*) 1 Chron. xxiii. 24, 27, 28.
43. and chap. viii. 24, 25.

(*b*) Numb. iv. 3, 23,

* De apparatu templi, cap. 3. §. vii. and also the Babylonish Gemara, Cholin. cap. i.

† Aben Ezra on Numb. viii.

one month old to their twentieth year they were instructed in the law of God; from twenty to twenty-five, in the functions of their ministry; from thence to thirty they served a sort of apprenticeship, beginning to exercise themselves in some of the lower branches of the sacred service; and lastly, when they attained their thirtieth year, they were fully instituted in their office. Some have observed much the same degrees among the vestal virgins, which perhaps were borrowed from the Jewish Levites. Thirty years they were bound to the strictest chastity, the first ten of which were spent in learning the mysteries of their profession; the second ten they ministered in holy things, and the last ten were employed in bringing up young novices*. Some have thought, and in particular our author, that the apostle alludes to these degrees of the Levites, when he tells Timothy, that they who perform the office of a deacon well, purchase to themselves a good degree, καλον βαθμον (*a*).

Moses ordered, that at the age of fifty the Levites should “cease waiting upon the service of the tabernacle, and should serve no more (*b*).” Yet he immediately adds, “They shall minister with their brethren in the tabernacle of the congregation, to keep the charge, and shall do no service.” It seems, therefore, they were not dismissed, but while they were exempted from all laborious employment, continued to execute the easier part of their ministry; and probably, instructed the younger Levites in the duties of their office.

We

* Dionys. Halicarn. lib. 2.

(*a*) 1 Tim. iii. 13. (*b*) Numb. viii. 25.

We have seen before, that the Levites were originally divided into three families. In David's time they were distinguished into three classes, to each of which a different service was assigned; and probably each was divided into twenty-four courses. The first class were "to wait upon the sons of Aaron, for the service of the house of the Lord;" that is, to assist the priests in the exercise of their ministry, "to purify the holy things, to prepare the shew-bread, and flour, and wine, and oil for the sacrifice; and sometimes to kill the sacrifice," when there was more work of that sort than the priest could conveniently perform (*a*). So that it was not necessary, that the sacrifice should be slain by the priest, as some erroneously suppose, alledging against the consideration of Christ's death as a proper sacrifice, that he must, in that case, in the character of a priest, have slain himself.

The second class of Levites formed the temple choir; the division of this class into twenty-four courses is expressly recorded in the twenty-fifth chapter of the first book of Chronicles. Some imagine, there were women singers, as well as men, in the temple choir; because in the book of Ezra, among those who returned from the babylonish captivity, there are said to have been two hundred (*b*), and elsewhere we read of two hundred forty-five (*c*) singing men and women. The jewish doctors will, indeed, by no means admit, there were any female voices in the temple choir; and as

T 2

for

(*a*) 1 Chron. xxiii. 28, 29. 2 Chron. xxix. 34. and chap. xxxv. 10,—14. (*b*) Ezra ii 65. (*c*) Nehem, vii. 67.

for those משררות *meshoreroth*, as they are called in the Hebrew, they suppose them to be the wives of those who sung*. Nevertheless the following passage makes it evident, that women, likewise, were thus employed, "God gave to Heman fourteen sons, and three daughters; and all these were under the hands of their father for song in the house of the Lord, with cymbals, psalteries, and harps, for the service of the house of God (a)."

Instrumental musick was first introduced into the Jewish service by Moses, and afterward, by the express command of God, was very much improved with the addition of several instruments in the reign of David. When Hezekiah restored the temple service, which had been neglected in his predecessor's reign, it is said, that "he set the Levites in the house of the Lord, with cymbals, with psalteries, and with harps, according to the commandment of David, and of Gad the king's seer, and Nathan the prophet; for so was the commandment of the Lord by his prophets (b)." The instruments originally appointed in the law of Moses, were only two; namely, the חצוצרות *chatsotseroth*, or silver trumpets (c), which they "were to blow in their solemn days, and over their burnt offerings, and over the sacrifices of their peace offerings (d);" and the שופר *shop-har*, or cornet, as the word is rendered in the following passage of the Psalmist, "With trumpets and sound of cornet make a joyful noise before the Lord, the king (e)." Here it is expressly distinguished from the trumpet, though

* Reland. Antiq. part. ii. cap. vi. §. vi. p. 235. edit. 3. 1717.

(a) 1 Chron. xxv. 5, 6.

(b) 2 Chron. xxix. 25.

(c) Numb. x. 2.

(d) ver. 10.

(e) Psal. xcvi. 6.

though in many other places, in our version, it is confounded with it. As we are informed, that the שופרות shopheroth, used at the siege of Jericho, were of “rams horns (a),” it is probable this instrument was made of horn, and is therefore properly rendered, a cornet. It was appointed by the law to be blown throughout the land, when they proclaimed the year of Jubilee, on the day of atonement (b). It may be observed, that as no other instruments are prescribed by the ritual besides the trumpet and the cornet, it is likely they were the only ones at that time in use among the Jews, and which they had skill to play on; except we reckon the תוף toph, or timbrel, which was used by the women (c). But as that was properly a sort of tabor, without any variety of notes, used only to accompany the voice, it hardly deserves to be ranked among the musical instruments. It is not, indeed, likely, the Israelites, who were a poor labouring people, but lately come from working at the brick kilns, should have much skill in musick at the time of their receiving the law. Only some could make shift to sound the horn, or the trumpet; which therefore was all the musick that could then be prescribed to attend the sacrifices. But when they were grown more polite and skilful, in the reign of David, several other instruments were added by divine direction. When some, therefore, plead for instrumental musick in christian worship, as pleasing to God, though not commanded, from the notion of its having been first introduced

T 3

duced

(a) Josh. vi. 4.
xv. 20,

(b) Lev. xxv. 9:

(c) Exod.

duced into the jewish worship by David without any divine institution; notwithstanding which God approved of it; they commit two mistakes. For David did not introduce any part of the temple musick without an express divine injunction: "So was the commandment of the Lord by his prophets." And it was not first brought in by him, but by Moses; who prescribed it to attend the sacrifices, so far as it could be practised in those times. And when, in after ages, they were more skilful in musick, and capable of performing the service in a better manner, they were required so to do; nevertheless not one new instrument was then added without divine direction and appointment. But to return to the temple choir.

The musick there used, was both vocal and instrumental: "As well singers, as players on instruments, shall be there (*a*)."

In David's time there were appointed three masters of the band of musick, Heman, Asaph and Ethan (*b*); whose names are prefixed to some of the Psalms, perhaps, because they set them to musick. Asaph's name is inscribed to the fiftieth, seventy third, and ten following Psalms; Heman's to the eighty eighth, and Ethan's to the eighty ninth. There was also, over all the rest, one chief musician, or head master of the choir, to whom several of the Psalms are inscribed, or to whose care it was intrusted, to have them set to musick, and performed in the tabernacle, or temple. At the time of writing the thirty ninth, sixty second, and seventy seventh Psalms, this master's name was Jeduthun.

The

(*a*) Psal. lxxxvii. 7.

(*b*) 1 Chron. xv. 17;

The vocal musick was performed by the Levites. The hebrew doctors say, the number of voices must not be less than twelve, but might be more without limitation*. They add, that the youth, the sons of the Levites, bore a part with their fathers in the choir; which they ground on this passage in the book of Ezra†, “Then stood Joshua with his sons, Kadmiel and his sons, and sung together by course, in praising and giving thanks unto the Lord (a).”

As for instrumental musick, though it was performed chiefly by the Levites, yet the rabbies say, other Israelites who were skilful, if they were men of worth and piety, might bear a part‡: This they ground on the account we have, that on occasion of David’s fetching the ark from “Kirjath-jearim, he and all the house of Israel played before the Lord on all manner of instruments (b).”

In the temple choir there were both wind and stringed instruments; the chief of the former was the חַטְסוֹטְרָה chatsoferah, which we have spoken of before. The name of it is supposed to have an affinity with, and to be formed from its sound. We find that this musick attended at the service of the altar. Thus when Solomon and all the people offered sacrifices at the dedication of the temple, “the Levites played on instruments of musick, and the priests sounded trumpets before them (c).” And when Hezekiah purified the house of the Lord and restored the temple service, and on that occasion offered sacrifices, “the Levites

T 4 stood

* Gnerachin in Mishn. cap. 2. §. 6. Maimon. & Bartenor. in loc. & Gemara, fol. 11. 6. Maimon. de appar. templi, cap. iii. §. iii. † Glosia, ibid. ‡ Maimon. de apparatu templi, ubi supra. (a) Ezra iii. 9,—11.

(b) 2 Sam. vi. 5. (c) 2 Chron. vii. 6.

stood with the instruments of David, and the priests with the trumpets (a).” In both these passages the priests are said to sound the trumpets, and not the Levites, who played on other instruments. And thus when David brought up the ark out of the house of Obed-edom, the Levites were appointed to be singers with instruments of musick, psalteries, harps and cymbals, and the priests did blow with the trumpets (b),” as it was prescribed in the law of Moses, “The son of Aaron the priest shall blow with the trumpets (c).”

According to the hebrew doctors, there must be two trumpets at least (d), and not more than a hundred and twenty*, because that was the number used when the ark was brought into Solomon’s temple (e). They say, that in singing the Psalms the voices and instruments made three intermissions, or pauses, which they call פרקים perakim, from פרק parak, rupit; and that then the priests sounded the trumpets. So that Dr. Lightfoot says, the trumpets were never joined with the choir in concert, but sounded only when the choir was silent†. However, in this he is undoubtedly mistaken; for on the occasion above referred to, of bringing the ark into the temple, we find the trumpets and voices and cymbals and other instruments of musick united in one grand chorus: “The trumpeters and singers were as one, to make one sound in praising the Lord; and they lift up their voices with the trumpets and cymbals and

(a) 2 Chron. xxix. 26. and so likewise in many other places. (b) 1 Chron. xv. 16, 24. (c) Numb. x. 8.

(d) Numb. x. 2. * Maimon. de apparatu templi, cap. iii. §. iv. Crenii Fascic. sexti, p. 103. Mishn. in Gnerachin, cap. 2. §. 5. & De Bartenor. in loc. & Maimon. in §. 6. p. 197, 198. tom. 5. edit. Surenhus.

(e) 2 Chron. v. 12. † Temple service, chap. 7. §. 2.

and instruments of musick, and praised the Lord (a).

Another wind instrument, in use among the Jews, was the חליל chalil, the pipe, flute, or hautboy. The rabbies say, it was used only on twelve days in the year *; but it does not appear in scripture, that it was ever used in the temple service. It is said, indeed, in Isaiah, "Ye shall have gladness of heart, as when one goeth with a pipe to come into the mount of the Lord, to the mighty one of Israel (b)." But that may probably allude to the people's having musick playing before them, when they came in companies from all parts of the countries, to pay their worship at the national altar on the three grand festivals. The חליל chalil, might be a common instrument, used on that occasion, though not in the temple choir.

The other musical instruments, chiefly used in the sacred service, were the נבלים nebhalim, כנרות kinnoroth, and the מצלתים metfiltaim, which in the fifteenth chapter of the first book of Chronicles we render psalteries, harps and cymbals (c). The נבל nebhel, and the כנר kinnor, the psaltery and harp, are both said to be stringed instruments. Josephus describes the kinnor as having ten χορδαι, or strings, (which, as the word signifies, were all open notes in the manner of our harps or harp-ficords); and the nebhel as having twelve פסגרים, notes or sounds; produced by stopping with frets in the manner of our viols; for so Dr. Lightfoot imagines these two words should

(a) 2 Chron. v. 13.

* Maimon. ubi supra §. vi.

Mishn. in Gnerachin, cap. 2. §. 3. p. 196. tom. 5.

(b) Isai. xxx. 29.

(c) 1 Chron. xv. 16.

should be explained. Josephus further saith, that the kinnor was struck *πληκτω*, with a quill, as we play on the dulcimer; and the nebhel, twanged with the fingers, as we play on the lute*. But if they had got into the way, by stopping, of playing several notes on one string, in Josephus's time, I much suspect they had not that contrivance in David's; because he seems to speak of an instrument of ten strings as the grandest, and most excellent of all, on account of the number of its strings (a). Whereas if they had had the way of stopping them, as we do the violin, I can see no sufficient reason, why such a number of strings should be reckoned a mark of excellence, when fewer would have reached as large a compass as they had ever occasion for. It seems, therefore, as if ten open strings, or ten notes, was the whole compass of their musick in those days. And to this time the eastern musick hath but a small compass of notes.

The *ῥαβδ* *tseltfel*, which both the septuagint (b) and Josephus† translate *κymbalon* the cymbal, seems to have been neither a wind nor stringed instrument, but something made of metal, which gave a sound with striking upon it, without any variety of notes, like a bell. Josephus gives no other description of Cymbals, but that they were great and broad and made of brass. Mr. Lampe has written a treatise de *Cymbalis veterum*. And Sir Richard Ellis, who hath one on the same subject in his *Fortuita*

* Joseph. Antiq. lib. vii. cap. xii. §. 8. edit. Haverc. and Lightfoot's temple service, ubi supra.

(a) Psal. xxxiii. 2. xcii. 3. cxliv. 9.

Chron. xv. 16.

† Ubi supra.

(b) In

Fortuita sacra, shows the ancient cymbals were generally two brass hemispheres, or basons, which the musicians struck against one another with great address, in time to the song, or other musick which they accompanied. This is the instrument, to which the apostle alludes when he compareth a professor of religion without charity or love, to “the sounding brass or tinkling cymbal (a).” The hebrew name צלצל *tseltzel*, is probably taken from its repeated, uniform sound; and so may the greek word αλαλαζον, which we translate by a like, namely, tinkling. Perhaps our kettle drums may be supposed to succeed the cymbals of the ancients, though if the rabbies say right, there was but one cymbal in the temple concert *, and it could not, therefore, answer the same end our kettle drums do; which are always placed in pairs, and being tuned at a fourth to each other, make an agreeable bass to the trumpet.

There are some other instruments of which we have no remaining description, mentioned in the hundreth and fiftieth Psalm, as used in praising God, but whether in the temple service, does not appear. The use of instrumental musick in publick worship was one of the typical ceremonies of the jewish religion, which is abrogated, therefore, with the rest by the gospel dispensation, and there is no revival of this institution in the New Testament. The ancient fathers were so far from practising or approving instrumental musick in christian worship, that some of them would hardly allow it was used in the jewish; but put allegorical interpretations on the texts that mention it. The
unknown

(a) 1 Cor. xiii. 1.

* Mishn. ubi supra, §. 5. Maimon. ubi supra, §. iv.

unknown author of the commentary on the Psalms, in St. Jerom's works, makes the instrument of ten strings to signify the ten commandments (*a*). And he hath this notable observation on the following passage, "Praise him with stringed instruments and organs (*b*)," that the guts being twisted by reason of abstinence from food, and so all carnal desires subdued, men are found fit for the kingdom of God to sing his praise. St. Basil calls musical instruments, the invention of Jubal of the race of Cain *. And Clement of Alexandria says, they are better for beasts than men †. That musical instruments were not used even in the popish church in Thomas Aquinas's time, about the year 1250, appears from this passage in his questions ‡, "In the old law God was praised both with musical instruments, and human voices; but the christian church does not use instruments to praise him, lest she should seem to judaize." So that it seems, instrumental musick hath been introduced into christian worship, within about the last 500 years, in the darkest and most corrupt times of popery. It is retained in the lutheran church, contrary to the opinion of Luther; who, as Eckard confesses, reckoned organs among the ensigns of Baal. Organs are still used in some of the dutch churches, but against the minds of their pastors; for in the national synod at Middleburgh, anno 1581, and in that of Holland and

(*a*) In Psal. xxxiii. 2. and xliii. 4, &c.
cl. 4.

(*b*) Psal.

* Comment. in Isaiah, cap. 5. apud Op. tom. 1. p. 56.
edit. Paris 1618.

† Pædag. lib. ii. cap. 4. init.

‡ Secunda secundæ Quæstio 91. art. 4. Conclus. 4.

and Zealand, anno 1594, it was resolved that they would endeavour to obtain of the magistrates, the laying aside of organs, and the singing with them in churches *. The church of England also, in her homilies, strongly remonstrates against the use of organs, and other instruments of musick in churches. In the homily on the place and time of prayer, after mention of piping, singing, chaunting, and playing on organs, which was in use before the reformation, we are exhorted "greatly to rejoice, and give thanks to God that our churches are delivered out of these things, that displeased God so sore, and so filthily defiled the holy house and place of prayer." I only add, that the voice of harpers and musicians, and of pipers and trumpeters, is mentioned among the glories of the mystical Babylon, "that mother of harlots and abominations of the earth, whom God will destroy with the sword of his mouth, and with the brightness of his coming (a)." But to return to the Levites:—

The third class were the porters, to whose charge the several gates of the courts of the sanctuary were appointed by lot (b). "They waited at every gate; and were not permitted to depart from their service (c);" and they attended by turns in their courses, as the other Levites did (d).

Their proper business was to open and shut the gates, and to attend at them by day, as a sort of peace officers, in order to prevent any tumult among the people; to keep strangers,
and

* Vid. Apolog. (Hicmanni) pro Ministris in Anglâ non-conformistis, p. 139.

(a) Rev. xviii. 22.

(b) 1 Chron. xxvi. 1, 13, 19.

(c) 2 Chron. xxxv. 15.

(d) See 2 Chron. viii. 14.

and the excommunicated and unclean persons, from entering into the holy court; and in short, to prevent whatever might be prejudicial to the safety, peace and purity of the holy place and service.

The rabbies assign several particular works to these porters, as brushing the gate, cleaning the gilding, &c. which probably belonged to their office, as they had the charge of the sacred buildings; but of which there is no occasion to speak distinctly.

They also kept guard by night about the temple and its courts; and they are said to have been twenty-four *, including three priests, who stood centry at so many different places. There was a superior officer over the whole guard, called by Maimonides † “the man of the mountain of the house;” he walked the round as often as he pleased; when he passed a centinel that was standing, he said, “Peace be unto you.” But if he found one asleep, he struck him; and he had liberty to set fire to his garment. This custom may, perhaps, be alluded to in the following passage, “Behold I come as a thief, that is, unawares; blessed is he that watcheth and keepeth his garments (a).” The hundred and thirty-fourth Psalm seems to be addressed to these watchmen of the temple, “who by night stand in the house of the Lord;” in which they are exhorted to employ their waking hours in acts of praise and devotion: “Thus the Levites, as it is said in the first book of Chronicles, were employed in the work day and night (b).” Godwin observes,
“that

* Maimon. de ædificio templi, cap. viii. §. iv. Crenii Fascicul. sexti, p. 70. † Ibid. §. x. p. 71, 72.

(a) Rev. xvi. 15.

(b) 1 Chron. ix. 33.

“ that some of the Levites had the charge of the treasures of the temple.” It is said, that “ of the Levites Ahijah was over the treasures of the house of God, and over the treasures of the dedicated things (a).” But I do not conceive, it was a distinct class of Levites, that was entrusted with the treasures, and dedicate things; but rather, that herein they acted as assistants to the priests or as inferior officers under them; it appearing that the high-priest, and others of the chief of the priests, had the charge of those things as well as the porters, who might probably have the immediate care of them under their superior direction. “ The king commanded Hilkiah the high-priest, and the priest of the second order, and the keepers of the doors, to bring forth out of the temple of the Lord all the vessels that were made for Baal, &c (b).” Godwin adds, that “ others of the Levites were overseers and judges,” שטרִים shoterim, and שפֹּטִים shophetim, as they are called in the first book of Chronicles (c); where six thousand Levites are said to have been appointed to these offices in David’s time. For though God had ordered in the law of Moses, that they should appoint שפֹּטִים shophetim, and שטרִים shoterim, in all their gates (d); yet it should seem, that order and appointment had been much neglected; the heads of the tribes, perhaps, having taken upon them to judge and determine controversies in their respective tribes, only in causes of great moment allowing an appeal to the king; for that David used, himself, to act as judge, and determine controversies

(a) 1 Chron. xxvi. 20.

(b) 2 Kings xxiii. 4.

(c) chap. xxiii. 4.

(d) Deut. xvi. 18.

troverfies betwixt his fubjects may be concluded from the following paffage, “When any man that had a controversy came to the king for judgment, then Abfalom called unto him, and faid, Of what city art thou? &c (*a*).” But when David was introducing his fon Solomon to the throne, he was defirous of fettling the inferior courts according to the original institution; well knowing that was the likeliest way of preferving the peace, and confulting the welfare of the nation. Accordingly he reftored thefe judicatories to their ancient order, and conftituted Levites to be officers and judges.

We have had an occafion already to fpeak of the diftinction betwixt the שפטים *fhophetim*, and שטרים *shoterim*; and we then obferved, that the שפטים *fhophetim*, were the fuperior magiftrates or judges, as may be concluded from that title’s being applied to the chief magiftrate under God, or the temporary viceroy, for feveral ages. As for the שטרים *shoterim*, they feem to have been the inferior officers in the judicatory courts, who attended the fuperior, and are therefore continually mentioned along with them; who, by whatever title they are diftinguifhed, whether judges, rulers, elders, or captains, ftill had their שטרים *shoterim* (*b*). But in this account of David’s appointment of the Levites to their offices (*c*), the שטרים *shoterim*, are placed before the שפטים *fhophetim* (*d*). From hence Dr. Patrick conjectures, we are not to take them for inferior perfons, but for men of great authority, whom the

(*a*) 2 Sam. xv. 2. (*b*) Deut. i. 15. chap. xvi. 18.
 Josh. viii. 33. 2 Chron. xix. 11. Prov. vi. 7.
 (*c*) 1 Chron. xxiii. 4. quoted above. (*d*) So likewise
 in Josh. viii 33.

the targum calls governors; who, like our justices of the peace, saw good order kept and the laws observed, while the province of the judges was the deciding causes in their several courts.

Some think their judicial authority extended no further than their own tribe, and the judging and determining controversies which arose among the inferior priests and Levites, especially about matters relating to the sacred ministry. But this opinion is hardly consistent with the account we have, that "Jehosaphat set of the Levites, and of the priests, along with the chief of the fathers of Israel, for the judgment of the Lord and for controversies (*a*);" that is, all sorts of causes, both ecclesiastical and civil. And the Levites were the שֹׁטְרִים *shoterim*, officers "under Amaziah, who was chief in all matters of the Lord;" and "under Zebadiah, the ruler of the house of Judah for all the king's matters (*b*)."

Upon the whole it should seem, the magistracy belonged not to the Levites, or any class of them, merely as Levites; but only as they generally addicted themselves more to the study of the law, and had more leisure to attend on the duties of the magistracy, than other persons who were employed in secular business.

The magistrates of different ranks, both the שֹׁפְטִים *shophetim*, and שֹׁטְרִים *shoterim* *, were very generally, though not always, chosen out of that tribe. And thus the prophetick curse, which Jacob pronounced upon Levi, that his posterity should be scattered amongst the tribes of Israel (*c*), was remarkably accomplished, (though in effect converted into a blessing,) not

VOL. I.

U

only

(*a*) 2 Chron. xix. 8.(*b*) ver. 11.

* See above, p. 34, — 37.

(*c*) Gen. xlix. 7

only in respect to the appointment of their habitation, (of which we shall take notice hereafter,) but likewise of their offices and employments; more of them, than perhaps of all the other tribes together, being officers and judges throughout the whole country; and probably, as the rabbies tell us, some of them were, generally, directors of their seminaries of learning*.

Godwin observes, that the consecration of the Levites, in Moses's time, began at the twenty-fifth year of their age; in David's, at the twentieth; and "here, saith he, we may note the liberty granted to the church in changing ceremonies." But he would undoubtedly have spared this note, if he had attended to what David declares, namely, that "he had appointed the courses of the priests, and the Levites," (which included the time of their entering on their ministry) "and all the service of the house of the Lord," by the express order of God himself. "All this, says David, the Lord made me understand in a writing by his hand upon me (a)." It does not therefore, appear from hence, that there was any such liberty given to the church under the Old Testament, as our author mentions; but rather the contrary; and I apprehend, it will be hard to find it any where, either in the Old Testament, or in the New.

As for the consecration of the Levites, when they were offered by the priest, it is said, "Aaron shall offer them before the Lord for
an

* See the authorities in Vitringa de synag. vetere, lib. 1, part. 2. cap. 8. p. 364, 365. who however looks upon this to be a rabbinical fiction. Dr. Lightfoot supposes the 48 cities of the Levites to have been a kind of universities. See his Harmony on Matt. ii. 4.

(a) i Chron. xxviii. 13, 19.

an offering of the children of Israel (*a*).” But the literal translation is, “Aaron shall wave them for a wavering, or wave offering, before Jehovah.” The targum renders it, “Elevabit Aaron Levitas elevatione coram Domino.” This is a manifest allusion to an ancient sacrificial rite, namely, waving the sacrifices before the Lord. This waving was of two kinds; one called תְּרוּמָה *terumah*, from רוּם *rum*, *elevatus est*; which, they say, was performed by waving it perpendicularly, upward and downward; the other תְּנוּפָה *tenuphah*, from נוּף *nuph*, *agitare, movere*; which the jewish writers tell us, was performed by waving it horizontally, towards the four cardinal points, to denote the consecration of what was thus waved, to the Lord of the whole earth *. And this word is applied to the consecration of the Levites in the passage before quoted. The septuagint renders it by ἀφωρίζω: and as this word is used, in the history of the acts, for the separation, or consecration, of Paul and Barnabas to the ministry of the gospel among the Gentiles (*b*), Godwin conceives, it is in allusion to the consecration and separation of the jewish Levites to the ministry of the tabernacle. The same greek word occurs concerning Paul in the epistle to the Romans, where he saith of himself, that he was ἀφωρισμένος εις ευαγγέλιον, set apart for the gospel (*c*). However, he may here allude, perhaps to his having been a Pharisee, or פָּרוּשׁ *pharosh*, which coming from פָּרַשׁ *pharash*, *separavit*, signifies ἀφωρισμένος: and as before his conversion he gloried

U 2

in

(*a*) Numb. viii. 11.

* Abarbanel, Bechai, and Levi Ben Gerson, quoted by Outram, de Sacrificiis, p. 162.

(*b*) Acts xiii. 2. (*c*) Rom. i. 1.

in being a pharisee, *αφωρισμενος εις νομον*, so he now does in being *αφωρισμενος εις ευαγγελιον*.

Another ceremony, at the consecration of the Levites, was imposition of hands: "Thou shalt bring the Levites before the Lord, and the children of Israel put their hands upon them (a)." By the *בני ישראל* bene Israel, children of Israel, some jewish doctors understand the first born*, in whose room the Levites were substituted (b). And their laying their hands, every one, on the head of his substitute, had the same signification, as the Levites laying their hands on the head of the bullocks that were to be sacrificed for them (c), or to suffer and die in their room and stead; that is, denoting, not only their consecration to God, but their substitution to attend the service of God at his tabernacle, instead of the first born.

Or if by the *בני ישראל* bene Israel, we understand with Dr. Patrick, the elders, as representatives of the whole assembly mentioned in the words preceding, we may suppose their laying their hands on the Levites was a form of benediction; as when Jacob laid his hand on Ephraim and Manasseh, and said, "God, before whom my fathers walked, bless the lads (d)." And as when little children were brought to our Saviour, that he might bless them, he laid his hands upon them (e).

This ceremony, used at the consecration of the Levites, came afterward into use at the consecration of other persons into either civil or sacred offices. Joshua was consecrated captain general of the tribes of Israel by imposition of

(a) Numb. viii. 10.

* Vid. Ainsworth in loc.

(b) ver. 17, 18.

(c) ver. 12.

(d) Gen. xlviii. 15,

16.

(e) Matt. xix. 15.

of the hands of Moses (*a*). And the same rite continued in the christian church at the ordination of officers both ordinary and extraordinary; particularly, of the seven deacons (*b*); of Barnabas and Saul to a special service, to which God called them (*c*); and of ordinary pastors (*d*).

There is a difference, which Godwin observes, between χειροθεσια and χειροτονια, the former signifying the consecration of a person to an office by the imposition of hands; the latter, his election or choice by holding up of hands. It is derived from an ancient custom of the Athenians in the choice of their magistrates; among whom the candidates being proposed to the people, who signified their choice by holding up their hands, he, who had most, was looked upon as duly elected *. Thus there was a brother χειροτονηθεις απο των εκκλησιων, appointed by the suffrage of the churches to travel along with Paul, to convey their alms to the poor saints in Judea (*e*). And in the history of the Acts we are informed, that Paul and Barnabas having travelled to Derbe, Lystra, Iconium and Antioch, had been there employed in appointing by suffrage elders in every city, χειροτονησαντες αυτοις πρεσβυτερες κατ' εκκλησιαν (*f*): a form of expression, which intimates, that they referred it to the people to choose
U 3 their

(*a*) Numb. xxvii. 18. (*b*) Acts vi. 6. (*c*) Acts xiii. 2, 3. (*d*) 1 Tim. iv. 14. especially, chap. v. 22.

* Aristophan. in Εκκλησι. p. 371. Vid. Suiceri Thesaur. in verb. χειροτονια, who quotes Demosthenes and Æschines, to show that this attick custom was expressed by the word χειροτονια. Vid. etiam Constantini Lexicon in verb. χειροτονω, & χειροτονια.

(*e*) 2 Cor. viii. 19.

(*f*) Acts xiv. 23.

their own presbyters or pastors, in whose ordination they assisted *.

Before we dismiss the consideration of the Levites, it will be proper to take notice of the place of their ordinary residence, and of their subsistence.

As to their residence, they, as well as the priests, were precluded, by the law, from sharing the promised inheritance of Canaan with their brethren of the other tribes (*a*): “The priests, the Levites, and all the tribe of Levi, shall have no part nor inheritance with Israel; they shall have no inheritance among their brethren.” The meaning is, they were to have no tract of land separately allotted to them as a tribe, in the same manner as the other tribes had; but in lieu of that they had forty-eight cities with their suburbs, assigned them out of the other tribes, thirteen of which belonged to the priests, and thirty-five to the rest of the tribe of Levi (*b*). It may be observed, that the cities of the priests were, for the most part, in the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, and consequently nearer to Jerusalem, which stood in the confines of these two tribes; whereas those of the Levites were divided to them by lot out of the other tribes on either side Jordan. And thus God converted Jacob’s curse on Levi, which we spoke of before, into a national blessing, by dispersing the priests and Levites, whose office it was to preserve and teach knowledge, throughout the whole land. Dr. Lightfoot makes these forty-eight cities to be so many

* Vid. Witsii Meletem. de vitâ Pauli, sect. iii. paragr. xx. p. 53,—55.

(*a*) Deut. xviii. 1, 2.
Josh. xxi.

(*b*) Numb. xxxv. 1,—8.

many universities, where the ministerial Tribe studied the law, and diffused the knowledge of it through the nation *. Of these six were appointed cities of refuge, for protecting of persons from the rigour of the law in case of involuntary homicide, of which we shall discourse in its proper place. The levitical cities had suburbs and fields surrounding them, to the extent of three thousand cubits on every side: "The suburbs of the cities, which ye shall give unto the Levites shall reach from the wall of the city and outward a thousand cubits round about; and ye shall measure from without the city on the east side two thousand cubits, on the south side two thousand cubits, on the west side two thousand cubits, on the north side two thousand cubits; and the city shall be in the midst. This shall be to them the suburbs of the cities (a)." To reconcile the seeming contradiction between the thousand and two thousand cubits, Junius supposes the latter number expresses the diameter of the suburbs, the city being abstracted, from out to out. So that the whole territory, belonging to the city, reached no farther than a thousand cubits †. But Dr. Lightfoot follows the more probable opinion of Maimonides ‡; namely, that the former thousand cubits were for suburbs, more properly so called; for outhouses, barns, stables, &c. and, it may be, for gardens of herbs and
 U 4 flowers;

* See his chorographical century of the land of Israel, chap. 97.

(a) Numb. xxxv. 4, 5.

† Junius in loc.

‡ Lightfoot, ubi supra, ab init. Vid. etiam Mishn. Sotah, cap. v. §. 3. Maimon. & Bartenora in loc. tom. 3. p. 248. edit. Surenhus.

flowers; and the latter two thousand were for fields and vineyards*, which are called the “fields of the suburbs (*a*).” From the produce of these fields and vineyards arose some part of the subsistence of the priests and Levites, when they were not in waiting at the sanctuary; for in the weeks of their attendance they were maintained by the dues arising from the sacrifices. As the apostle observes, “Do ye not know that they who minister about holy things, live of the things of the temple; and they who wait at the altar, are partakers of the altar (*b*).” Beside these dues, the first fruits, which were brought to the temple, and the money paid for the redemption of the first born, contributed towards their subsistence. But when they were out of waiting, their maintenance partly, as we have said, arose from the glebes belonging to their cities; but chiefly, from the tythes of the produce of the whole country, which the law allotted to the tribe of Levi: “Behold, saith God, I have given the children of Levi all the tenth in Israel for an inheritance, for their service which they serve (*c*).” This tythe the people paid both from the animal and vegetable produce of their

* Mr. Lowman understands the thousand cubits to be the measurement of the suburbs every way from the walls of the city into the country; and the two thousand cubits, the measurement from the beginning of the suburbs on the country side into the centre of the city. See his civil government of the Hebrews, p. 110. It is remarkable that the septuagint reads two thousand in both places. And both Josephus and Philo mention only two thousand. Joseph. Antiq. lib. iv. cap. iv. §. 3. tom. 1. p. 204. edit. Haverc. & Philo de sacerdotum honoribus, sub finem, p. 645. edit. Colon. Allobr. 1613.

(*a*) Lev. xxv. 34. (*b*) 1 Cor. ix. 13. (*c*) Numb. xviii. 21.

their estates; from the seed of the lands, and the fruit of the trees; from the sheep and black cattle (*a*). It was paid immediately to the Levites, who probably received it, either on the spot where it was produced; or, at least, in their several cities (*b*). Out of this tythe the Levites paid a tenth part to the priests (*c*), which is called their תְּרוּמָה *terumah*, or heave offering, as we render it, to the Lord; in like manner as the general tythe, paid by the people, is called their תְּרוּמָה *terumah* (*d*). Not that we are to suppose all their tythes were lifted up towards heaven, as were some of the oblations, in token of their desire that God might accept them; but because they were so far of the same nature with the things offered to God by that rite, as to be separated and set apart for his use and service. In which sense all the offerings, or free donations to God required for building him a sanctuary, are called תְּרוּמָה *terumah* (*e*); which the Chaldee paraphrase translates, "That which is supported."

Besides this tythe, which the people were to pay to the Levites, they were also to tythe the remaining nine parts, and of that tythe to make a feast, to be kept in the court of the sanctuary, or in some apartment belonging to it; or in case they lived so remote, that they could not with convenience carry this tythe thither in kind, they might sell it, and purchase provisions with the money, when they came to the sanctuary; only adding a fifth part thereto (*f*). At this feast, which was kept in token
of

(*a*) Lev. xxvii. 30. 2 Chron. xxxi. 5, 6. (*b*) Nehem.

x. 37. (*c*) Numb. xviii. 25,—28. (*d*) ver. 24.

(*e*) Exod. xxv. 2. (*f*) Deut. xii. 17, 18. chap.

xiv. 22,—27. Lev. xxvii. 31.

of their thankfulness to God, for his providential bounties, they were to entertain not only their own families and friends, but also the Levites. It is not expressly said, how many of them were to be invited; that was left to prudence, and to be determined by the quantity of provisions; only in general the law is, "Those shall eat there before the Lord thy God, and thou shalt rejoice, thou and thy household, and the Levite, that is within thy gate; thou shalt not forsake him." Now that this tythe was different from that paid to the Levites, is manifest, first, in that the tythe paid to them was for their own use; whereas this was consumed by the owners and their friends; only they were to invite some Levites to the feast. Secondly, That tythe was paid all the country over, this only at the sanctuary. Thirdly, The Levites were to pay a tenth of their tythe to the priests, which they could not do of this, having no property in it, except that they were to partake of it as invited guests.

Besides these two tythes, Josephus*, and the apocryphal book, Tobit (a), speak of a third, paid once in three years; which was given away in charity. And some Jewish writers, therefore, call it the poor man's tythe†. This opinion may seem to receive some countenance from the express order in the book of Deuteronomy, that "at the end of every three years they should bring forth all the tythe of their increase, and lay it up within their gates; that the stranger, the fatherless and the widow,

as

* Antiq. lib. iv. cap. viii. §. 22. p. 238. edit. Haverc.
(a) chap. i. 8.

† Maimon. de jure pauperis, cap. vi. §. 1. p. 60. edit. Prideaux, Oxon. 1679.

as well as the Levite, might come, and eat, and be satisfied (*a*). Nevertheless several learned Jews and Christians conceive, this was not a distinct tythe, but the same with the second, with only this difference, that whereas for two years together the feast, that was made by it, was kept at the sanctuary, the third year it was kept by the owners at their own house; in order that such of their poor neighbours and friends, as were aged and infirm, and could not travel to the place of the sanctuary, might not be wholly excluded from this thanksgiving feast; or, as Mr. Mede expresses it, for two years together they paid the Levites tythe, and the festival tythe; but in the third year, they paid the Levites tythe, and the poor man's tythe; that is, what was wont in other years to be spent in feasting, was every third year spent upon the poor*. But I acknowledge, that this third year's being called "the year of tything," in the twenty-sixth chapter of Deuteronomy (*b*), seems to me to import that some additional tythe was paid that year.

The reason of God's commanding this tythe to be paid to the priests and Levites, was manifestly for their subsistence. For as they had no estates in land, like the other tribes, except only in their cities, and a few little fields about them; they must have starved without some such contribution from the other tribes. But why God would have them supported in this way, rather than by assigning them an inheritance, like the rest of the tribes; and why this pro-

(*a*) Deut. xiv. 28, 29.

* See Mede's works, book i. disc. 33. p. 171, 172. and likewise Selden on tythes, chap. ii. §. iii.

(*b*) Deut. xxvi. 12.

proportion of a tenth was to be paid them, rather than any other, are questions not so easy to be resolved.

As to the former query, why God would have the priests and Levites supported by tythes, rather than by allotting them an inheritance in land, it was no doubt, partly, that their time might not be taken up with secular business, and their minds burthened about worldly cares and managing their estates, and that they might employ themselves wholly in the duties of their office; as Timothy is exhorted by St. Paul “to give himself wholly to his ministry;” and for that end, cautioned against “entangling himself with the affairs of this life (a).”

Again, God’s commanding the other Israelites to pay tythe out of their estates to his priests and Levites might be designed as an acknowledgement, that they had received their estates from his free gift, and held them by no other tenure, but his bounty. In which view the tythes may be considered as a quit rent, to be annually paid to the original proprietor of the land, who had conquered it for them, and put them in possession of it*. Paying it to the priests and Levites, his immediate servants and ministers

(a) 1 Tim. iv. 15. 2 Tim. ii. 4.

* When William the Conqueror, parceled out the lands of England, he reserved a certain small rent to be annually paid out of every estate to the Crown as an acknowledgment, that it was received from, and held under him. This rent is paid to this day from all freehold estates, under the name of chief rent. Or if there be any estates, that pay it not, it is because they have been purchased out of others, of which purchase it was made a condition that they should be clear of this incumbrance, those other estates paying it for them.

ministers, for their maintenance and support, was paying it to him ; and as they held their estates by this tenure, a neglect or refusal was a forfeiture. To this effect is the observation of rabbi Bechai * on the following words, “ And thou shalt eat before the Lord the tythe of thy corn, of thy wine and thy oil, &c (*a*).” If, saith he, thou pay the tythe, then it is thy corn, &c. if not, it is mine ; as it is said in the prophecy of Hosea, “ Therefore will I return and take away my corn in the time thereof, and my wine in the season thereof (*b*).” For they forfeited the whole, who did not pay a tenth, the rent which God had reserved to himself.

As for the second question, why God appointed the proportion of a tenth rather than any other ; the Jews generally say, it was because ten is a perfect number ; almost all nations ending their account of simple numbers with it, and then beginning again with compound numbers ; or as others phrase it, this is the end of lesser numbers, and the beginning of greater ; on which account it was looked upon as the most perfect, and therefore had in great regard. But this is too frivolous ; perhaps a more substantial reason may be drawn from the ancient laws and customs of most nations, of paying a tenth to their kings. Aristotle mentions it as an ancient law in Babylon † ; and Dr. Spencer ‡ observes, from a passage in Aristophanes, that it was the custom

* See Patrick in loc.

(*a*) Deut. xiv. 23. (*b*) Hof. ii. 9.

† Aristot. *Æconomic.* lib. ii. sub fin.

‡ De legibus hebræor. lib. iii. cap. x. §. 1. tom. 2:

P. 721, 722. edit. Chappelow.

custom in Athens, though a commonwealth; for the people to pay a tenth to the magistracy. That this was reckoned a part of the *jus regum* in the eastern countries, appears from hence, that among the other oppressions, which Samuel tells the Israelites they might expect from a king, he mentions his demanding their tythes: "He will take the tenth of your seed, and of your vineyards, and give to his officers, and to his servants (a)." Now, as we have shewn before, the priests and Levites, were properly the officers and ministers of state under God as king of Israel; and the Israelites paying through their hands one tenth to him; was agreeable to the custom of almost all nations to pay one tenth to their king. Tythes then are to be considered as an appendage to the Theocracy; and I apprehend it will be extremely difficult to prove, that Christian ministers have a divine right to demand them, from this circumstance of a constitution peculiar to the Jewish nation. Thus much concerning the priests and Levites.

The rabbies speak of another sort of ecclesiastical persons, termed *אנשי מעמד* *anshè mangnamidh*, *viri stationarii**, stationary men; of whom we have no mention in scripture. Nevertheless there is some probability in the account of the Jewish doctors, that there were men chosen out of the several tribes, as representatives to attend at the sacrifices offered for all Israel; the law requiring that the persons for whom sacrifices were offered, should be present at the offering (b). Among the sacrifices offered for all
Israel

(a) 1 Sam. viii. 15.

* Vid. Maimon. de apparatu templi, cap. vi. per totum, p. 126, & seq. Crenii Fascic. Sexti.

(b) Lev. i. 3, 4. chap. iii. 2, 8.

Israel, or for the whole congregation, were the continual daily sacrifices, provided at the publick charge; and extraordinary sacrifices, when on account of the sin of any particular person or persons, any judgment of God lay upon the whole nation; as in the case of the Israelites being worsted by the Canaanites at Ai, on account of Achan's transgression; in such cases the law directed, that "the congregation should offer a young bullock for the sin, and burn him before the tabernacle of the congregation (*a*)."

On the annual fast, or day of expiation, there was likewise a solemn sacrifice of atonement offered for all Israel, "because of their transgressions in all their sins (*b*)."

On such occasions, it being impossible that all the people should be present, there were representatives chosen, say the doctors, for the whole body; who being divided into twenty-four courses attended by rotation, as the priests and Levites did.

The Nethinim, who come next under consideration, were so called from נָתַן *nathan*, dedit, because they were given to the Levites for servants or slaves, to do the drudgery belonging to the sacred service. Ezra says, they were given or appointed by David and the princes for the service of the Levites (*c*). They were originally the Gibeonites, who obtaining a league of peace with the Israelites, soon after they came into Canaan, by artifice and fraud, were condemned by Joshua to the lowest and most laborious offices, belonging to the service of the tabernacle; drawing water, fetching and cleaving wood for the fire of the altar, &c (*d*).

We

(*a*) Lev. iv. 13, 14.
viii. 20.

(*b*) Lev. xvi. 16.

(*c*) Ezra

(*d*) Josh. ix. 3, to the end.

We never find them called Nethinim before David's time; but afterwards, when the Israelites had enlarged their conquests, and probably added others of other nations to these vassals of the sanctuary, they were no longer called Gibeonites, but Nethinim, a name that would suit those of one nation as well as another. From this time they do not seem to have been considered and treated like slaves, but rather as the lowest order of the servants of the sanctuary, having, no doubt, embraced the Jewish religion. At their return from the captivity, they were placed in cities with the Levites (*a*). There were very few, indeed, that chose to return, probably, because of the lowliness of their condition and station amongst the Israelites. We read of no more than two hundred and twenty, who came with Ezra (*b*), and three hundred ninety two with Zerubbabel (*c*). A number so insufficient for the service work of the temple, that Josephus tells us, they instituted a festival, which they called *ἐυλοφῆσις*, on which the people were obliged to carry a certain quantity of wood, to supply the altar of burnt-offerings*. The Papists have a sort of officers in imitation of the Nethinim, whom they call subdeacons; whose business it is to carry a basin of water, and a towel, to the priests who minister at the altar, to wash their hands before they celebrate mass.

Of

(*a*) Nehem. xi. 3. Ezra ii. 70. 1 Chron. ix. 2;
 (*b*) Ezra viii. 20. (*c*) chap. ii. 58.

* Joseph. de bell. judaic. lib. ii. cap. xvii. §. 6. p. 194: edit. Haverc.

Of the Sacrifices.

To this chapter concerning the ministers of the sanctuary, may properly be subjoined a brief account of that part of its service, in which they were chiefly employed, namely, the sacrifices.

Of their first institution we have no certain information in scripture. But they were practised we find, in the first ages of the world by Cain and Abel (*a*); and by our first parents, probably, presently after the fall. For we read, that “unto Adam and to his wife the Lord made coats of skins and cloathed them (*b*).” As animal food was not used till after the flood, which we formerly proved *, we cannot easily

VOL. I.

X

imagine

(*a*) Gen. iv.(*b*) Gen. iii. 21.

* Since we considered this subject, Dr. Sykes in his late essay on the nature, design and origin of sacrifices, in order to explain the animal sacrifice which Abel offered, consistently with his own notion of sacrifices in general, namely, that they were a kind of eating and drinking with God as it were at his table, and in consequence of that being in a state of friendship with him by repentance and confession of sins (p. 120.); hath endeavoured to show in opposition to Grotius and Le Clerc, that animals were used for food before the flood. And as these authors think the express grant of animal food made after the flood, is sufficient proof, that it was not in use before the flood, he enquires into the meaning of the respective grants to Adam and Noah (p. 167,—178.).

The former is in these words, (Gen. i. 29, 30.) “Behold I have given you every herb bearing seed, which is upon the face of all the earth, and every tree in the which is the fruit of a tree bearing seed, to you it shall be for meat. And to every beast of the field, and to every fowl of the air, and to every thing that creepeth upon the earth, wherein there is life, have I given every green herb for meat.” And the Doctor, remarking,

imagine whence they so soon procured these skins, probably before any creatures had died of themselves, unless from beasts slain for sacrifice.

Whether

remarking, that this grant must necessarily be understood with some limitations, some creatures being not formed for living upon herbs, and some herbs being of a poisonous quality, infers from hence, that it was not intended to intimate, that this or that food was prohibited, and not to be eaten by man, but to declare in general, how well God had, in his infinite wisdom, provided for the numerous species of creatures which he had created. But I apprehend, that, if we should allow there were noxious vegetables before the fall, when this grant was made, it is not a very natural inference, that because it was to be limited to those herbs that were salutary in their nature, it might for that reason, be extended to animal food, of which kind of food there is not the least mention. It is a maxim that permissive laws are to be restrained to those objects which are expressly declared in them, or at least to those which are of the same nature, and are evidently comprehended in the general ground and reason of the law.

With respect to the grant to Noah, "every moving thing that liveth, shall be meat for you, even as the green herb have I given you all things," (Gen. ix. 3.) he apprehends it does not imply any grant of animal food in general, but only of some particular sorts of it, such as are included in the word רמש remesh, here rendered "moving," which according to him signifieth, creeping things, or such animals as are not comprehended under the words, beast and fowl. Consequently, whatever is the meaning of this grant, it may be consistent with mens eating sheep and oxen, goats and the like animals from the first. But this criticism is without foundation, for it is certain that רמש remesh, is of very general signification, and used for all kinds of animals, or all that can move. As in the following passages: "All flesh died that moveth הרמש haromesh, upon the face of the earth, both of fowl, and of cattle, and of every beast and creeping thing," (Gen. vii. 21.) Again, God created great whales, and every living creature that moveth, הרמש haromesh, which the waters bring forth abundantly, (Gen. i. 21); that is, all kinds of fishes. When therefore, God gave to Adam dominion

Whether men were led to the practise of sacrificing by their own reason, or by the command of God, hath been a matter of controversy both among Jews and Christians. Some of the hebrew doctors are of the former opinion *, in which they are followed by Chrysostom; who saith, that Abel sacrificed the first ^{things} of his flock voluntarily, and from the motion of his own conscience, without any instruction, or any positive law †. And the author of the questions and answers to the orthodox in the works of Justin Martyr, asserts, that all, who offered animals in sacrifice before the law of Moses, did it without any divine command; nevertheless God accepted the offering

X 2

dominion over the fishes of the sea, and over the fowls of the air, and over every living thing that moveth ^{הרמש} haromesheth, upon the face of the earth, (ver. 28.); the ^{רמש} remesh or ^{רמש} remesheth, cannot here be understood to denote a particular species of animals different from fishes and fowls, but all sorts of animals, or any other that can move, as well as those particularly named.

The Doctor understands the latter clause, "the flesh with the blood, which is the life thereof, thou shalt not eat," to be only a prohibition of eating animals, which died of themselves, and an injunction to kill before they eat. A prohibition and injunction, which if men used animal food before the flood, seem difficult to be accounted for, unless upon supposition that it was their practice to feed on animals which died of themselves, and that they did not kill them for food; which is very unlikely, since it is certain, and Dr. Sykes admits, they killed them for sacrifice.

Upon the whole therefore, notwithstanding all the Doctor hath advanced, I cannot see reason to depart from the opinion I before espoused, that there was no permission to eat animal food till after the flood.

* Maimonides, rabbi Levi Ben Gerson, and Abarbanel. Vid. Outram. de sacrificiis, p. 9.

† Hom. xii. ad Popul. Antioch. tom. 2. edit. Benedict. p. 129.

offering, and was pleased with the offerer*. Grotius declares himself of the same opinion†, and produces among others, the following passages in support of it: the first out of the prophet Jeremy, “For I spake not unto your fathers, neither commanded them in the day that I brought them out of the land of Egypt, concerning burnt offerings or sacrifices (*a*).” Again, out of the Psalms, “I will not reprove thee for thy sacrifices, or thy burnt offerings, to have been continually before me. I will take no bullock out of thy house, nor he-goats out of thy folds. — Will I eat the flesh of Bulls, or drink the blood of goats? Offer unto God thanksgiving, and pay thy vows unto the Most High (*b*).” And in another place, “Thou desirest not sacrifice, else would I give it. Thou delightest not in burnt offerings (*c*).” Once more, “sacrifice and offering thou didst not desire; mine ears hast thou opened. Burnt offering and sin offering hast thou not required (*d*).” In all which passages, and some others that might be mentioned, the blessed God seems to speak with contempt of sacrifices, not only as unprofitable to him, but as if he did not command them. As for those in the Psalms, they must certainly be understood, either in a comparative sense, as importing that sacrifices were not so pleasing to him as moral obedience; or as expressing their insufficiency to make a proper atonement for sin; according to the apostle

“It

* Respons. ad quæst. lxxxiii. apud opera Justin. p. 442. edit. Paris. 1615.

† Vid. annot. in Gen. iv. 3. & in Jerem. vii. 22. præcipuè, de veritat. Relig. Christ. lib. v. §. viii.

(*a*) Jerem. vii. 22. (*b*) Psal. l. 8, — 14. (*c*) Psal. li. 16. (*d*) Psal. xl. 6.

“ It is not possible, that the blood of bulls and of goats should take away sins (a) ;” and as reproving, therefore, the vain dependance of those who rested upon them for pardon and divine acceptance, without looking by faith to their great antitype, the sacrifice of Christ. It cannot be supposed the Psalmist meant that God had not instituted sacrifices, because we know he had done it long before his time, by Moses. But the passage in the prophet Jeremy, that God “ spake not unto the fathers, nor commanded them, concerning burnt offerings and sacrifices,” being said expressly to relate to a time prior to the giving of the law at Mount Sinai, namely, to the day of their deliverance out of the land of Egypt ; it is from hence inferred, that he did not institute sacrifices before the promulgation of the law by Moses. This opinion is zealously patronized by the papists, in favour of their will worship, or appointing religious rites and ceremonies without any divine institution ; for so, they alledge, did the patriarchs in the case of sacrifices ; yet God approved, though he did not command them. The same notion is also embraced by some protestants, in order to evade the argument drawn from the typical sacrifices of atonement, to prove the death of Christ a proper expiatory sacrifice. Sacrifices they plead, were at first an human institution, and to prevent their being offered to idols, God condescended to the introducing them into his service ; not that he approved them as good in themselves, or as proper rites of worship. However those who apprehend, that sacrifices were originally of divine institution, reply,

X 3

1st,

(a) Heb. x. 4.

1st, That Abel is said to have “offered his sacrifice by faith (a);” which must imply as its ground and foundation, some divine promise connected with that rite, and consequently a divine direction for the performance of it.

Dr. Spencer maintains, that sacrifices were originally considered under the notion of gifts, the effect of which in appeasing the anger and conciliating the favour of men being observed, it was supposed, they would have the like effect with God, and thereupon was invented the rite of sacrificing*.

But to this it may be replied, that if both Cain and Abel sacrificed upon this principle, which must be acknowledged to be a wrong one, it will be hard to account for God’s accepting the one, and rejecting the other. Besides, as Dr. Kennicott very justly observes, the opinion, that sacrifices would prevail with God, must proceed from an observation, that gifts had prevailed with men; an observation, which Cain and Abel had little opportunity of making†. Not to insist on what he further urges, that gifts could not have been in use, till property was established; which it probably‡ was not in the days of Cain and Abel.

2dly, The paschal lamb was expressly instituted by God himself, not only before the giving

(a) Heb. xi. 4.

* Spencer de legibus Hebræor. lib. iii. dissert. ii. cap. iii. §. 1, 2. tom. 2. p. 762, 763. In the next chapter he attempts to prove at large, that sacrifices were of human origin, and not of divine Institution.

† Two dissert. on the tree of life, and oblations of Cain and Abel, p. 206.

‡ Ibid. Append. p. 252, — 254.

ing the law at Sinai, but before the migration of the Israelites from Egypt; and that this was a real sacrifice, is certain, it being called "the sacrifice of the Lord's passover (*a*)" and it being elsewhere said, "Thou shalt sacrifice the passover unto the Lord thy God (*b*)."¹ Again, Christ, under the notion of our "Passover," is declared to be "sacrificed for us (*c*)."² When therefore it is said in Jeremiah, that "God did not speak unto the fathers concerning sacrifices in the day that he brought them out of Egypt," it cannot mean that he had yet instituted no sacrifices at all. Again further,

3dly, If we consider how highly God hath resented, and how severely he hath punished will worship in other cases; particularly, with respect to Nadab and Abihu's burning incense with strange fire, which the Lord commanded them not; on which they were struck dead on the spot (*d*); one cannot surely suppose, he would have so highly approved of the patriarchs sacrificing, as he did, if he had not commanded it.

When God, therefore, saith, in the words so often cited, "I spake not unto the fathers nor commanded them, in the day that I brought them out of the land of Egypt, concerning burnt offerings and sacrifices," it must be taken in connection with the words immediately following, "but this thing commanded I them, saying, obey my voice, and I will be your God, and ye shall be my people; and walk ye in all the ways, that I have commanded, (rather, shall command you,) that it may be well unto you:"

X 4

And

(*a*) Exod. xii. 27. (*b*) Deut. xvi. 2. See also ver. 5, 6. (*c*) 1 Cor. v. 7. (*d*) Lev. x. 1, 2.

And then with rabbi Solomon Jarchi, and Maimonides, we may understand

1st, That after God had brought Israel out of Egypt he did not first speak to them, and command them, concerning sacrificial rites, but concerning moral obedience. For the beginning of the law they date from the Israelites coming to Marah, three days after they had left the Red Sea, where "God made a statute and an ordinance, and where he proved them, and said, If thou wilt diligently hearken to the voice of the Lord thy God, and wilt do that which is right in his sight, and wilt give ear to his commandments, and keep all his statutes, I will put none of these diseases upon thee, which I have brought upon the Egyptians (a)." And this being before the new institution of sacrifices at mount Sinai, they were in fact not first commanded concerning these, but concerning moral obedience *. So that these Jewish doctors understand the form of expression in Jeremy, as we must that of St. Paul, "Adam was not deceived, but the woman being deceived, was in the transgression (b);" that is, Adam was not first deceived, and was not first in the transgression, but Eve.

2dly, These words may be very well understood in a comparative sense: "God did not command the fathers concerning sacrifices, but this he commanded them, to obey his voice;" that is, he did not command them concerning sacrifices, so much as concerning moral obedience; "to obey being better than sacrifice, and to hearken than the fat of rams (c)."

Accord-

(a) Exod. xv. 25, 26. * Maimon. More nevoch; part. iii. cap. xxxii. p. 436. Buxtorf. Basil. 1629.

(b) 1 Tim. ii. 14. (c) 1 Sam. xv. 22.

Accordingly God is said to desire mercy, and not sacrifice (*a*); or mercy rather than sacrifice. In this manner negatives are frequently used for comparatives, "It was not you that sent me hither but God (*b*);" not so much you, as God. "Your murmurings are not against us, but against the Lord (*c*);" not so properly against us, as the Lord. "Labour not for the meat that perisheth, but for the meat which endureth to everlasting life (*d*);" that is, not with so much assiduity and anxiety for the former, as for the latter.

Upon the whole then, it is most probable, sacrifices were first instituted by God himself, and enjoined our first parents presently after the fall; from whom, and afterwards from Noah, all nations received them by tradition *.

However, in process of time these, as well as all the other branches of religious faith and worship, were miserably corrupted; instead of brute animals, which God had appointed, human sacrifices grew into use, and it became no uncommon thing, in several countries, for parents to sacrifice their children. And besides this change, as to the subjects of the sacrifices, the objects of them were likewise altered; the Gentiles "sacrificing to demons, and not to God (*e*).[†]" When, therefore, God chose Israel
to

(*a*) Hof. vi. 6. (*b*) Gen. xlv. 8. (*c*) Exod. xvi. 8. (*d*) John vi. 27.

* Against the human, and for the divine institution of sacrifices, see the ingenious and learned Dr. Kennicott's two dissertations on the tree of life, and the oblations of Cain and Abel, p. 201 & seq. Witſii Miscell. tom. 1. lib. 2. dissert. 2. §. 1,—15. Dr. Outram hath discussed the arguments on both sides without determining on either, de sacrificiis, lib. 1. cap. 1. §. 3,—4. p. 2,—11.

(*e*) 1 Cor. x. 20.

to be his peculiar people and church, among whom he would revive the true religion, he gave them, anew, his law concerning sacrifices, with the addition of such particular rites, as would make them more significant types of good things to come under the gospel dispensation. For instance, whereas formerly the head of every family was, probably, the sacrificer for his own household, God now appointed a peculiar order of priests, with their assistants the Levites, whose whole business it should be to attend the sacrifices; by whom therefore they would be more regularly performed, and better preserved from being corrupted, than in times past. It is concerning these new instituted Jewish sacrifices, we are now more especially to discourse.

The general name sometimes includes all the offerings made to God, or any way devoted to his service and honour. Thus not only offerings of fruits, as well as animals, are called sacrifices; but likewise the moral duties of repentance, thanksgiving and praise. "The sacrifices of God are a broken and a contrite spirit (*a*)."

Again, "I will offer unto thee the sacrifice of thanksgiving (*b*)."

And, "Let us offer the sacrifice of praise to God. (*c*)."

But, in a stricter sense, sacrifices and offerings were two things; every sacrifice, indeed, was an offering, but every offering not a sacrifice. All sorts of tythes, and first fruits, and whatever of their worldly substance was consecrated to God, for the support of his worship and the maintenance of his ministers, were offerings,

(*a*) Psal. li. 17.
xiii. 15.

(*b*) Psal. cxvi. 17.

(*c*) Heb.

fering, or oblations. These were either of living creatures, or other things; as corn, flour, wine, oil, &c. But sacrifices, in the more peculiar sense of the term, were of living creatures; of which only five sorts were prescribed or allowed by the law; three of beasts, namely, bullocks, sheep, or goats; and two of birds, that is, doves and turtles. Beasts only were allowed in publick sacrifices, and birds in private ones; and that chiefly, when persons were too poor, to provide a more costly sacrifice.

The general design and use of such offerings and sacrifices was partly

1st, As an acknowledgement of their receiving all their good things from the hand of God, and of his right in the whole of that, of which they offered him a part; though to make this act the more significant and expressive, it was a part of almost every thing they had.

2dly, To be a means of repentance and humiliation for sin, of the desert of which they were reminded by the suffering and death of the victim, substituted in their room, and suffering in their stead.

3dly, To typify, and so to assist their faith in, that promised sacrifice of atonement, which the Son of God was to offer in due time. There was also a political use of many of these sacrifices, which we have formerly taken notice of. Dr. Sykes * makes all sacrifices to be federal rites, which imply'd mens entering into friendship with God; or if they had violated their
friendship

* Essay on the nature, design and origin of sacrifices, p. 59.

friendship with him, then they denoted reconciliation, and a renewal of that friendship. He supposes the fire on the altar represented God, who was anciently wont to manifest himself in a Shechinah or flame; as he did to Moses in the bush, and in the holy of holies in the jewish tabernacle *. And accordingly those sacrifices, part of which was consumed on the altar, and part eat by the offerers, signified their being in friendship with God, and their desire of continuing so; eating and drinking together being an ancient rite, and token of friendship among men. And the whole burnt offering, in which all was given to God, being consumed on his altar, signified their desire of reconciliation and renewed friendship with him; and their acknowledgment of their unworthiness of it, as they eat of no part of the sacrifice †.

But as for the notion of the victim's being substituted, to suffer death and be consumed in the room and stead of the transgressor, for whom it was offered, the Doctor allows it to have been ancient, and commonly received among Gentiles, and Jews, as well as Christians ‡. Thus Ovid, in the sixth book of his *Fasts*, supposes the sacrificed animal to be a vicarious substitute, the several parts of which were given as equivalents for what was due by the offerers:

*Cor pro corde, precor; pro fibra fumite fibras;
Hanc animam vobis pro meliore damus.*

Abar-

* Essay on the nature, design and origin of sacrifices,
p. 337.

† Ibid. p. 232, 233, 277. ‡ Ibid. p. 121.

Abarbanel espouses the same sentiment in his introduction to his comment on Leviticus*: "The person, saith he, that put his hand upon the head of the beast, by this rite confessed the desert of his sins, and declared the blood of that animal to be shed in lieu of his own; and that it was just and right, that the offender's life should be taken away, as was that of the beast brought to the altar." And Dr. Outram† abundantly shows, that it was the common opinion of the rabbies, "that the blood of the sinner in equity ought to have been poured out, and his body burnt; as was the blood of the victim poured out, and its body burnt; and that God in his mercy and goodness took the victim instead of, and as an expiation for, the offender." Thus they understand a translation of sin upon the head of the victim, and likewise of the punishment due to the offender. Dr. Sykes utterly rejects this notion, of sacrifices being vicarious and expiatory; and endeavours to confute it with the following arguments.

1, It is not any where expressly said, or so much as hinted, in the Old Testament, that the victim's life was given in lieu of, or as a vicarious substitute for, the life of him that offered it‡." To this we answer,

There was no need of its being expressly said, it being well known and universally understood, to be the true intent and meaning of killing the victim. Of this fact numerous testimonies

* Abarbanel. Exord. Comment. in Levit. ad calcem Maimon. de sacrificiis per Du Viel, p. 301.

† Outram. de sacrificiis, lib. 1. cap. xxii. §. v.—xii. p. 269.—278.

‡ Essay on Sacrifices, p. 122.

stimonies might be added to those already cited, from the most ancient writers of several nations. It is strange he should say, it is not so much as hinted in the Old Testament; where there are so many cases, in which a person having done something that according to the law forfeited his life, upon a victim's being slain and sacrificed for him, whereby an atonement was made for his transgression, the forfeiture was reversed, and thereupon his life was spared. However this notion is expressly advanced in the New Testament, in relation to the death of Christ; which is said to be "an offering and sacrifice to God (*a*);" and he is said to have "put away sin by the sacrifice of himself (*b*);" and to have "suffered for sins, the just for the unjust (*c*);" and to have died for us, in the same sense that one man may die for another; that is, to save the other from dying by suffering death in his stead (*d*). And this is founded on the supposition, that the victim's life was given in lieu of, or as a vicarious substitute for, the person for whom it was offered.

2dly, the Doctor pleads, that in some cases, atonement was made for Sin without any animal sacrifice, and without any life being given: therefore piacular sacrifice did not imply giving life for life*. Thus, when a poor man, who could not be at the expence of an animal sacrifice, had forfeited his life by some transgression of the law, he was indulged with offering an handful of fine flour only, and with that "the priest was to make atonement for the offender, as touching his sin that he had sinned (*e*)."

I re-

(*a*) Eph. v. 2. (*b*) Heb. ix. 26. (*c*) 1 Pet. iii. 18.
 (*d*) Rom. v. 6, 7, 8. * p. 123, — 126. (*e*) Lev. v. 13.

I reply, This by no means proves, that when an animal piacular sacrifice was offered, it did not imply giving life for life. It only shows, God might, if he pleased, accept of a lower atonement for the forfeited life of the offender. And it is a remarkable instance of his compassionate indulgence to the poor, that he would accept of some flour only, to be burnt and destroyed on his altar, as a vicarious substitute for those lives, or persons, who deserved to be destroyed.

3dly, The Doctor argues, that if the design of animal sacrifices had been to give life for life, lactation alone would have been sufficient; and there would have been no occasion for the subsequent rite of burning the blood upon the altar, that was to attend it*. To this we reply,

If the only end and design of piacular sacrifices had been, to give life for life, there might have been some weight in this argument. But as the transgressor of God's law had not only forfeited his natural life, but had incurred future punishment, it made the sacrifice more properly and significantly vicarious, that, after it was killed, the flesh should be burnt with fire, and utterly consumed on the altar. And as for the מנחה minchah, or meat offering, that was to attend it and be consumed along with it, it might naturally signify the forfeiture of their substance, as well as their lives, into the hands of divine justice.

4thly, The Doctor observes, that no where, in the books that particularly mention the institution of sacrifices, or largely treat about them

them, or in the versions of them, are they ever called *λυτρα*, *αντιλυτρα* or *αντιψυχα*. equivalents, compensations, exchanges, substitutes, or by any other word, which implies giving life for life *. I answer,

We are not much concerned, what word the septuagint, or any other version, hath used for sacrifices. But since the Doctor seems to allow, that if they were called *λυτρα*, or *αντιλυτρα*, that would imply their vicarious substitution; I think it a substantial argument, that they really were so, that the death of Christ which is expressly said to be a sacrifice for the sins of men, is said to be a *λυτρον* (*a*), and *αντιλυτρον* (*b*). That no word is used in the books that mention the “institution of sacrifices, or so largely treat about them, which implies giving life for life,” is positively asserted; and if we should assert, that the hebrew word נָשָׂא *nasa*, portavit, sustinuit, which is so often used concerning piacular sacrifices, does naturally and strictly imply this, I am perswaded we should have reason and truth on our side. As this word is used for mens bearing their own sin, that is, suffering the punishment of it in their own persons (*c*); and for one man’s bearing the sins of another, that is, suffering the punishment which the other’s sins had deserved (*d*); so it is also used for the sin offering, which is said to “bear the iniquity of the congregation, and to make atonement for them before the Lord (*e*).” Where to bear the iniquity of the congregation, and to make atonement for their sins, are plainly the same thing; and

* p. 134, 135. (a) Matt. xx. 28. Mark x. 45.
 (b) 1 Tim. ii. 6. (c) Lev. xxiv. 15. Numb. xiv. 34.
 & alibi. (d) Ezek. xviii. 20. (e) Lev. x. 17.

and to bear the iniquity of the congregation, according to the common use of the word נָשָׂא *nasa*, is to suffer the legal result of their iniquity, or which comes to the same, a vicarious death and punishment for them. And thus Christ is said to have “born our griefs and carried our sorrows (*a*),” and to “bear the sins of many (*b*).” Once more,

5thly, The Doctor observes, that atonement is required to be made by animal sacrifices, in some cases, where there was no crime committed, and therefore no life forfeited (*c*). A woman after child bearing is commanded to bring a lamb, or, if not able to do that, two turtle doves, or two young pigeons; “the one for a burnt offering, the other for a sin offering, and the priest should make an atonement for her (*d*).” Again, certain animal sacrifices are appointed for the cleansing of a leper (*e*), by which the priest was to make “an atonement for him (*f*).” From these two cases the Doctor argues, that, as in neither of them, any crime is supposed to be committed, nor life forfeited, therefore no vicarious death and punishment could be supposed to be inflicted on the victim; and consequently, the common notion of a substitution in peculiar sacrifices, which has so much prevailed in the world, does not at all enter into the scripture notion of making atonement.

But here I would ask, if those persons for whom atonement was made, were not guilty of sin, why was any atonement made for them? since the Doctor himself tells us, that “to

VOL. I.

Y

to make

(*a*) Isa. liii. 4. (*b*) ver. 12. (*c*) p. 135,—141.
 (*d*) Lev. xii. 8. (*e*) Lev. xiv. 10,—21. (*f*) ver.

make atonement for sins is to do something, by means of which a man obtains the pardon of them (a).” We allow, the woman had not properly contracted guilt by her child bearing, nor the leper by his disease; but, as the pains of child bearing, and as all diseases, to which the human body is incident, (of which leprosy, according to the account travellers give of it, in the eastern countries, seems to be the most grievous) are the fruits and consequences of the apostacy, and of sin, which hath brought these calamities on human nature, it was highly proper, that on occasion of a deliverance from these remarkable effects of sin, there should be an humble acknowledgment made of the desert of it in general, and a piacular sacrifice offered for original, and for all actual transgressions: which I take to be the intent of such sacrifices on these occasions.

Upon the whole then, I see no reason, from any of Dr. Sykes’s arguments, to depart from the ancient doctrine, which hath so universally approved itself to the reason of Gentiles, as well as Jews; namely, that in sacrifices of expiation and atonement for sin there was a substitution of the victim to suffer in the room and stead of the transgressor.

Sacrifices are distinguished by the jewish writers into the most holy, and into those of an inferiour kind, or less holy*. Of the former sort were the burnt offerings, sin offerings, trespass offerings, and peace offerings of the whole

(a) p. 306.

* Mishn. tit. Zebhachim, cap. v. §. 1. and 7. p. 21. and 25. tom. 5. edit. Surenhus. Maimon. de ratione sacrificiorum faciendorum, cap. 1. §. xvii. p. 290. Crenii Fascic. sexti.

whole congregation ; of the latter, they reckon the peace offerings of particular persons, paschal lambs, firstlings and tenths. Some of them distinguish them also into sacrifices of duty, to which they were bound by the law, and voluntary sacrifices, which they offered of their own free will *.

Whatever was offered in sacrifice, was to be good and perfect in its kind ; no beast that had any distemper, blemish, or defect was allowed.

In treating of this subject, we shall distinguish sacrifices, in respect

1st, To their signification and use :

2dly, To the persons that offered them :

And

3dly, To the subject matter of them.

1st, In respect to their signification and use. they are distinguished into four kinds, burnt offerings, sin offerings, trespass offerings, and peace offerings †.

1st, The first and most ancient sort of sacrifices were burnt offerings, which the Hebrews call עֹלֹת gnoloth, from עלה gnalah, ascendit ; the Greeks θοκαυσια from ολος totus, and καω uro ; because they were wholly consumed with fire, except the skin, and so made to ascend in flames and smoke from the altar. Sacrifices of this sort are often mentioned by the

Y 2

Heathens

* Vid. Reland. Antiq. veterum Hebræor. part iii. cap.

1. §. iii. p. 291, 292. edit. 3. Traject. Bat. 1717.

† This division is said by Maimonides, and Abarbanel, to comprehend every kind of sacrifices that the law prescribes, whether publick or private. Vid. Maimon. de ratione sacrificiorum faciendorum, cap. 1. §. 2. p. 283. Crenii Fascic. sexti. & R. Abarbanel. Exord. Comment. in Levit. cap. 2. p. 243. ad calcem Maimon. de sacrificiis, per De Veil. See likewise Maimon. præfat. ad quintam partem Mishnæ, fol. 1.

Heathens*, as well as Jews; particularly by Xenophon, who speaks of sacrificing holocausts of oxen to Jupiter, and of horses to the Sun†. They appear to have been in use, long before the institution of the other jewish sacrifices by the law of Moses. Abel's was most probably of that sort. However, we expressly read of burnt offerings in Job's time (a), and in Abraham's (b), and as early as Noah, who upon his coming out of the ark, "built an altar unto the Lord, and took of every clean beast, and of every clean fowl, and offered burnt offerings upon the altar (c)."

* Hence it was, that though the Jews would not allow the Gentiles to offer on their altar, any other sacrifices peculiarly enjoined by the law of Moses, yet they admitted them by the hands of the jewish priests to offer holocausts, this being a sort of sacrifices prior to the law, and common to all nations‡. During their subjection to the Romans, it was no uncommon thing for those Gentiles to offer sacrifices to the God of Israel at Jerusalem. There is a letter of king Agrippa to Caius in Philo's works, in which it is said, that the emperor Augustus ordered a holocaust of two lambs and a bullock to be offered for him daily, τῷ ὑψίστῳ θεῷ, to the most high God, at Jerusalem§. And hence Tertullian in his apology
to

* Outram. de sacrificiis, lib. i. cap. x. §. ix. p. 113.

† Εδυσαν τῷ Δι, καὶ ὀλοκαυτωσαν τῆς ταυρῆς· ἔπειτα τῷ Ἡλίῳ, καὶ ὀλοκαυτωσαν τῆς ἵππου. Cyropæd. lib. 8. p. 464. edit. Hutchins. 1738.

(a) Job i. 5. chap. xlii. 8.

(b) Gen. xxii. 13.

(c) Gen. viii. 20.

‡ Maimon. de ratione sacrificiorum faciendorum, cap. iii. §. ii. p. 300. Crenii Fascic. sexti.

§ De legatione ad Caium, apud opera, p. 801 E. edit. Solon. Allobr. 1613.

to the Romans, says "cujus (Judææ sc.) & Deum victimis, & templum donis, & gentem fœderibus, aliquandiu honorastis*."

The Jews accounted their holocaust the most excellent of all their sacrifices. Accordingly it is so stiled by Philo, in his book de Victimis, who begins with it, and assigns this reason for giving it the preference, that it redounds solely to the divine honour, being entirely consumed with fire, and leaving therefore no room for selfishness or avarice†. Moses likewise begins the law concerning sacrifices with those relating to the holocaust or burnt offering (*a*); and informs us that the creatures proper for sacrifices were bullocks, sheep, or goats; and turtle doves, or young pigeons (*b*). The doves and pigeons were chiefly for the poorer sort of people, who could not go to the price of bullocks and sheep. The law enjoins a person, who had been guilty in some articles particularly specified, to "bring his trespass offering unto the Lord, a female from the flock, a lamb or a kid of the goats for a sin offering; but if he be not able to bring a lamb, then, two turtle doves or two young pigeons, one for a sin offering and the other for a burnt offering (*c*).". And in like manner, a woman after child bearing is ordered to bring a lamb for a burnt offering, and a dove, or a pigeon for a sin offering; but if she be not able to bring a lamb, she shall bring two turtle doves, or two young pigeons; the one for a burnt offering,

Y 3

the

* Tertullian. Apolog. §, xxvi. p. 26. edit. Rigalt. 1675.

† Apud opera, p. 648. B, C. edit. Colon. Allobr. 1613.

(*a*) Lev. i. initio. (*b*) ver. 5, 10, 14. (*c*) Lev. v. 6, 7.

the other for a sin offering (*a*). It is observable, that the poor woman's offering was that which the Virgin Mary made at her purification (*b*).

The burnt offering, as I said, was entirely consumed by fire: "It is the burnt offering, because of the burning upon the altar all night until the morning, and the fire of the altar shall be burning in it (*c*)."

Only the skin was the priest's due for the trouble of performing the sacrifice (*d*). It is disputed among the jewish doctors, on what accounts the holocausts were offered. Some say, to expiate all evil thoughts; as sin offerings and trespass offerings, all evil actions. Others say, to atone for the breach of affirmative precepts, as the latter did for that of negative ones*.

Some christian writers make the holocaust to be offered to God, as an acknowledgment of his being the Creator, Lord, and Preserver of all, worthy of all honour and worship; and likewise as a token or emblem of mens giving themselves up entirely to him; as they did the victims, which was wholly consumed on the altar. Accordingly it is supposed the apostle alludes to the holocaust, when he exhorts us to "present our bodies," or ourselves, "a living sacrifice to God (*e*)."

But further, since the end of the offering was always to make atonement, as is declared in the general law concerning burnt offerings (*f*); which yet it could not do absolutely and

(*a*) Lev. xii. 6. 8.

(*b*) Luke ii. 24.

(*c*) Lev. vi.

(*d*) chap. vii. 8.

* Outram de sacrificiis, lib. 1. cap. x. §. vii. p. 111.

(*e*) Rom. xii. 1.

(*f*) Lev. i. 4.

and properly (*a*); it must therefore be understood to do it typically, or in a way of representation. And this was, doubtless, its grand intention and use, even to typify, and to direct the faith of the Old Testament believers to, that only true atoning sacrifice, which the son of God was to offer in due time. Hence Christ is said to have “offered up his body once for all,” that is, his whole self, his entire human nature (*b*). I have only further to observe, that of this kind was the continual sacrifice, offered every morning and evening, which it was predicted the Messiah should cause to cease (*c*), and with the abolition of which the Jewish worship and church was brought to a final period.

2dly, The next kind of sacrifices were the **חַטָּאת** chattaath, or sin offerings, the law and rites of which are laid down and described in the fourth chapter of Leviticus. The verb **חָטָא** chata, in kal, signifies to sin; and hence **חַטָּאִים** chattaim, signifies sinners (*d*). But, in Pihel, it has a different signification, namely, to cleanse, expiate, make atonement or satisfaction: “That which was torn, saith Jacob to Laban, I brought it not to thee; **אֶחַטְנָה** achattenna, I bore the loss of it; I made satisfaction for it (*e*). Hence the noun **חַטָּאת** chattaah, is used to denote an offering for sin, whereby pardon is procured, atonement is made, and sin is expiated. In the same sense the apostle Paul uses the Greek word, *ἁμαρτία*, in imitation, I suppose, of the Hebrew phraseology: “Him that knew no sin, *ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν*

Y 4

ἁμαρτίαν(*a*) Heb. x. 1,—4, 11.(*b*) ver. 8,—10.(*c*) Dan. ix. 27.(*d*) Psal. i. 1.(*e*) Gen. xxxi. 39.

ἁμαρτιαν ἐποίησεν, he hath made a sin offering for us (a).” And so the apostle renders the following words of the psalmist, עֹלָה וְחֹטֵאֵה gnolah vachattaah (b), ὁλοκαυτώματα καὶ περὶ ἁμαρτίας, “burnt offerings, and sin offerings (c).” Thus περὶ ἁμαρτίας ought undoubtedly to be rendered, where it is said, “God sending his son in the likeness of sinful flesh, καὶ περὶ ἁμαρτίας, and by a sin offering, condemned sin in the flesh (d).”

According to the scripture account, these sacrifices were offered,

1st, For all sins of ignorance or inadvertency against what are commonly called the negative precepts, or with respect to things forbidden. The case stated in Leviticus is, “If a soul shall sin through ignorance against any of the commandments of the Lord, concerning things which ought not to be done, and shall do against any of them.” Notwithstanding this general mode of expression, the rabbies limit the law to those sins of ignorance, which if they had been committed knowingly and wilfully, would have incurred the penalty of “cutting off;” and they tell us they were forty-three in number, which they pretend exactly to enumerate*. But the words are express against this rabbinical restriction, “If a soul shall sin through ignorance, נִכּוֹל מִצֻּוֹת miccol mitsoth, against any of the commandments of the Lord (e).” Besides, we find these sacrifices enjoined in cases, where the penalty of being

(a) 2 Cor. v. 21. (b) Psal. xl. 6. (c) Heb. x. 6.

(d) Rom. viii. 3.

* Maimon. de sacrificiis, tractat. 4. cap. 1. §. ii, —iv. De Veil. Lond. 1683.

(e) Lev. iv. 2, 3; 13; 14; 22, 23; 27, 28.

being "cut off" could not be incurred; particularly,

2dly, On occasion of legal pollution; as at the cleansing of a leper (*a*), and the purification of a woman after child bearing (*b*), and other legal pollutions, specified in the fifteenth chapter of Leviticus (*c*).

In the common sin offering, whether private or publick, the fat only was burnt upon the altar, and part of the blood put on the horns of the altar, and part of it poured at the foot of it (*d*). But the flesh was the due of the priest, to be eaten in the courts of the tabernacle of the congregation (*e*); and by these, and by the trespass offerings, were the priests chiefly maintained in the weeks of their attendance on the temple service. Besides many particular occasions, on which these sacrifices were offered, there were also constant sin offerings at stated seasons; as on every new moon, a kid of the goats (*f*); and on the fifteenth day of the passover month, one goat, and so for seven days successively (*g*); on the day of the feast of trumpets, a kid (*h*); and at the feast of tabernacles, a kid for seven days together (*i*).

There were also sin offerings of a more solemn nature, offered on extraordinary occasions, of which the priest had no part, but they were entirely consumed with fire; not, however, on the altar, as the holocausts were, but without the camp, or upon the ground in the open field; only the kidneys and the fat were burnt,

(*a*) Lev. xiv. 19. (*b*) chap. xii. 6. (*c*) chap. xv.
19, 29, 30. (*d*) chap. iv. 25, 26. (*e*) chap. vi. 25,
26. (*f*) Numb. xxviii. 15. (*g*) ver. 22, 24.
(*h*) chap. xxix. 5. (*i*) ver. 7, 11, & seq.

burnt on the altar of burnt offering, and part of the blood poured out at its foot; and part of it the priest carried into the sanctuary; with some of which he tinged the horns of the golden altar of sweet incense, and with the rest he “sprinkled seven times before the Lord, before the veil of the sanctuary (*a*).” Of this sort was the high priest’s sin offering bullock, when he “had sinned through ignorance according to the sin of the people (*b*).” The sacredness of his office was an aggravation of his sin beyond that of others, and his dignity rendered his example in doing evil more hurtful than theirs; for which reason a more solemn sacrifice was appointed to be offered for his sins even of ignorance, than for those of the common people. Of this kind also was the high priest’s sin offering bullock on the day of expiation (*c*); only with this difference, that the blood of it was sprinkled, not before the veil of the sanctuary, but before the mercy seat, in the holy of holies (*d*).

Of this sort likewise was the sin offering bullock for the sins through ignorance of the whole congregation (*e*).

The Jewish writers are of different opinions concerning the occasion of these sacrifices. Some by the whole congregation understand the sanhedrim, and imagine their sin to be, that they had mistaken in judgment, and by that means misled the people*. Others interpret it of any general popular defection from the law of

(*a*) Lev. iv. 4, 6,—10, 17, 18, 19, 21. (*b*) ver. 2, 3.
 (*c*) chap. xvi. 6. (*d*) ver. 14. (*e*) chap. iv. 13.

* Maimonides. and the rabbies in general. Vid. Outram de sacrificiis, lib. 1. cap. 14. §. 1. p. 149, 150. and Hottinger de Juris Hebræor. Leg. cxviii. p. 147, 148. edit. Tigur. 1655.

of God ; which through their ignorance of the law was not presently attended to *. Thus when Hezekiah restored the true worship of God, after the temple had been shut up, and the daily sacrifices omitted for a considerable time, he offered “ a sin offering for the kingdom, and for the sanctuary, and for Judah (a).” The sacrifice of Christ, which he offered for the sins of his people, is resembled in scripture to the sin offering of the congregation, because he offered it for all of them in the general ; as when he is said to be “ made sin ;” that is, a sin offering “ for us (b).” And his sacrifice is represented to be of the same kind with those, whose blood was brought within the sanctuary for sin, and whose bodies were burnt without the camp : “ The bodies of those beasts saith the apostle to the Hebrews, whose blood is brought into the sanctuary by the high priest for sin, are burnt without the camp. Wherefore Jesus also, that he might sanctify the people with his own blood, suffered without the gate (c).” The burning of those sacrifices without the camp is to be understood therefore, as typical, not only of Christ’s suffering without the gates of Jerusalem, as the apostle applies it ; but probably, likewise, of his suffering for the salvation of Gentiles, who were without the camp of Israel, as well as Jews ; and the bringing the blood of those sacrifices into the holy place was a figure of Christ’s presenting the merit of his death for us, in his heavenly intercession.

3dly,

* Aben-ezra. Vid. Outram. §. 1. ad finem, & §. 2. p. 150,—152.

(a) 2 Chron. xxix. 21. (b) 2 Cor. v. 21. (c) Heb xiii. 11, 12. compared with Lev. xvi. 27.

3dly, The third kind of sacrifices were called אֲשָׁמִים *ashamim*, which we render trespass offerings *. They so greatly resembled the sin offerings, that it is not easy to distinguish betwixt them. The occasions on which they were offered were much the same; nay, sometimes the same oblations are indifferently called sin offerings, or trespass offering; particularly in the following passage, “ And he shall bring his trespass offering אֲשָׁמוֹ *ashamo*, unto the Lord, for his sin which he hath sinned, עַל חַטָּאתוֹ אֲשֶׁר חָטָא *gnal chattatho asher chata*,— and if he be not able to bring a lamb, then he shall bring for his trespass which he hath committed, אֲשָׁמוֹ אֲשֶׁר חָטָא *ashamo asher chata*, two turtle doves, or two young pigeons, the one for a sin offering לַחַטָּאת *lechattath*, and the other for a burnt offering (*a*). Where it is remarkable, that the offence committed is called indifferently a sin and a trespass; and the sacrifice offered, a trespass offering and a sin offering. Nevertheless there are some circumstances in which these two kinds of sacrifices are observed to differ. Sin offerings were sometimes offered for the whole congregation; trespass offerings never, but for particular persons. bullocks were sometimes used for sin offerings, never for trespass offerings. The blood of the sin offerings was put on the horns of the altar, that of the trespass offerings was only sprinkled round about the bottom of the altar. Whence some have concluded, the difference betwixt the sin offerings and the trespass offerings lay only in

* See the laws concerning them; Lev. v, and vi. and xiv. 12, 13. and xix. 20,—22. and Numb. vi. 12.

(*a*) Lev. y. 6,—8.

in these circumstances. But others conceive; there must have been some greater difference betwixt them, which was the reason of their being offered with these different circumstances. Yet what that difference was, is variously conjectured by many learned men, rather than asserted by any. Dr. Lightfoot, from the rabbies *, makes the difference to lie in this, that both indeed were offered for the same sort of transgressions, but the אֲשָׁם asham, or trespass offering, was to be offered, when it was doubtful, whether a person had transgressed or not. As, suppose he had eat some fat, and was afterwards in doubt, whether it was the fat that belonged to the muscular flesh, which was lawful to be eaten; or the fat of the inwards, which was unlawful; then he was to offer an אֲשָׁם asham. But if it were certain, and he knew that he had trespassed, he must offer the חַטָּאת chattaah, or sin offering †. Maimonides is of opinion, that the offences, for which the אֲשָׁם asham, was offered were inferior to those for which the חַטָּאת chattaah, was offered ‡. Bochart, on the contrary, is of opinion that the offences, expiated by אֲשָׁם asham, were more grievous than those expiated by חַטָּאת chattaah §. Aben-Ezra makes חַטָּאת chattaah, to signify a sacrifice offered for purging offences committed through ignorance of the law; אֲשָׁם asham, for such as were committed through forgetfulness of it

* See in particular, R. Abarbanel, Exord. Comment. in Levit. p. 307.

† Lightfoot's temple service, chap. viii.

‡ More Novechim, part. iii. cap. xlvi. p. 486. edit. & vers. Buxtorf. Basil. 1629.

§ Hieroz. part. i. lib. ii. cap. xxxiii.

it *. Others, again, make the difference to be, that the חטאה chataah, was for offences proved by witnesses; the אשם asham, for secret faults, known to others only by the offender's confession. For it is said, "If his sin which he hath sinned, הודיע אליו hodhang elai, come to his knowledge, then he shall bring his offering (a)." Now הודיע hodhang, is of a passive signification, and here therefore imports, if his fault be made known to him by some other person, then he must offer a sin offering (b). But elsewhere it is said, "When a person has been guilty of any of the things before mentioned, he shall confess that he hath sinned in that thing, and he shall bring his trespass offering (c)." And to mention only one opinion more; others think the חטאה chataah, had respect chiefly to offences against God; and אשם asham, chiefly to offences against men. To this purpose Dr. Outram observes, that in all cases where the אשם asham, is required, there was some wrong or injury done him; except in the case of the Nazarite defiled by the dead (d), and of the Leper (e). But as both these were to be purged with the a chatiaah as well as an asham, he apprehends they afford no material objection to this general rule †.

4, The fourth sort of sacrifices were שלמים shelamim, or peace offerings; so called, not as being intended to make peace with God, but rather to preserve it. Burnt offerings, sin offerings,

* Aben-Ezra ad Lev. quoted by Outram, de sacrificiis, p. 144.

(a) Lev. iv. 28. (b) ver. 29. (c) Lev. v. 5, 6.
(d) Numb. vi. 12. (e) Lev. xiv. 12.

† Outram de sacrificiis, lib. 1. cap. 13. per totum, p. 135,—147. especially §. viii. p. 143,—145.

ferings, and trespass offerings were all offered under the notion of some offence committed, and some guilt contracted, which they were the means of removing; but in the peace offerings the offerer was supposed to be at peace with God, and the offering was made rather in a way of thankful acknowledgment for mercies received, or as accompanying vows for the obtaining of further blessings; or, in a way of free devotion, as a means of preserving and continuing peace with God. Thus the peace offerings are distinguished into sacrifices of thanksgiving, votive offerings, and voluntary or free will offerings (*a*). The sacrifice of thanksgiving, which the septuagint renders *θυσια της εὐχαριστίας*, is evidently referred to in these words of the epistle to the Hebrews, "By him let us offer the sacrifice of praise to God (*b*)."

Some peace offerings were required, by the law, to be offered at certain times, and on particular occasions; as on the feast of Pentecost (*c*); by a Nazarite, when he had accomplished his vow (*d*); and at the consecration of the priest (*e*). But generally it was referred to the devotion and free will of the people, to offer these sacrifices, when, and how often they pleased.

The peace offerings might be either of the flock, or the herd (*f*); that is, either of beeves, or sheep, or goats; and either male or female. But birds were not allowed; the reason of which was probably, because they were too small to admit of being divided into three parts, one for the altar, another for the priests, and

(*a*) Lev. vii. 11, 12, 16. (*b*) Heb. xiii. 15. (*c*)
 Lev. xxiii. 19. (*d*) Numb. vi. 14. (*e*) Exod. xxix.
 28. (*f*) Lev. iii. 1, 6.

and a third for the offerer, without bringing the sacrifice into contempt.

In all peace offerings the fat, that is, the suet, as also the kidneys, were burnt upon the altar (*a*); and if the sacrifice was of the flock, that is, a sheep or a goat, the rump or tail was burnt along with them (*b*).

The breast and the right shoulder were the priest's due; and they are called the wave breast, and the heave shoulder (*c*), because of the ceremony of waving them this way and that, and upward and downward; which was done by the owner of the sacrifice, as the form of his presenting them to God. These portions of the peace offerings were allotted towards the maintenance of the priests, during the weeks of their attendance at the sanctuary; for they were not permitted to carry them home with them, unto their own houses in the country; but they and their families were to "eat them in the place which the Lord should chuse;" that is the place of his publick most solemn worship by sacrifice (*d*).

Along with these peace offerings, at least with those of thanksgiving, there was also offered bread of fine flour, and oil, both leavened and unleavened, made into cakes and wafers, which were likewise the priests due (*e*). The rest of the flesh of the peace offerings belonged to the owner of the sacrifice, with which it was usual to make a feast, and entertain his friends, either on the day of the sacrifice, or the next day at furthest; for if any of the flesh remained till the third day, it was to be burnt (*f*).

That

(*a*) Lev. iii. 3,—5. (*b*) ver. 9,—11. (*c*) Lev. vii. 34.
 (*d*) Deut. xii. 18. (*e*) Lev. vii. 12, 13. (*f*) ver.
 17.

Thus the lewd woman in the Proverbs is represented, as inviting an unwary youth to a feast upon her votive peace offerings (*a*). These feasts were often kept in the courts of the temple, or in some of the buildings adjoining; where there were cook rooms, and conveniencies for dressing the flesh of the sacrifices; as appears very probable from the account of the solemn passover which Josiah kept at the temple, that the Levites “roasted the passover with fire, according to the ordinance; but the other holy offerings sod they in pots and in caldrons and in pans, and divided them speedily among all the people. And afterwards they made ready for themselves, and for the priests. (*b*).” In like manner they did at Shiloh, before the temple was built; where the sons of Eli, instead of contenting themselves with the breast and shoulders, which the law assigned them for their due, brought up a custom of sticking a three pronged fork or hook into the cauldron, where the peace offering was boiling, and taking whatever it brought up (*c*).

The Gentiles likewise, who borrowed many of their sacrificial rites from the Jews, used sometimes to hold the feasts of their peace offerings in the temples of their gods. Hence St. Paul, in the first epistle to the Corinthians, speaks of their “sitting at meat in the idols temple (*d*).” But they did not always feast upon this flesh with their friends; they sometimes sold it in the common market, as is plainly intimated in the following passage of the

VOL. I. Z same

(*a*) Prov. vii. 14.

(*b*) 2 Chron. xxxv. 13, 14.

(*c*) 1 Sam. ii. 13, 14.

(*d*) 1 Cor. viii. 10.

same epistle, "Whatever is sold in the shambles, that eat, asking no question for conscience sake (*a*)," that is, as the context leads us to understand it, not enquiring whether it had been offered in sacrifice to a idol.

Thus much for the different sorts of sacrifices, in respect to their signification and use.

2dly, Sacrifices may be divided, in respect to the persons that offered them, into publick and private.

1st, The publick sacrifices were offered for the whole people of Israel; as two lambs for burnt offerings every day, one in the morning, the other in the evening; which are called the continual burnt offering (*b*): two lambs more, that is, four, on every sabbath-day (*c*): two young bullocks, one ram and seven lambs for a burnt offering; and a kid of the goats for a sin offering, every new moon (*d*): and the same sacrifices every day of the feast of unleavened bread, and of the first fruits (*e*). On the day of the feast of trumpets, on the great day of expiation, and at the feast of tabernacles, there were also extraordinary publick sacrifices appointed (*f*). Beside these, and some other stated publick sacrifices, there were occasional publick sacrifices sometimes offered; as the sin offering of the congregation, when they had sinned through ignorance (*g*). And on occasion of the war with the Benjamites, "all the children of Israel offered burnt offerings and peace offerings before the Lord (*b*)."

2dly,

(*a*) 1 Cor. x. 25. (*b*) Exod. xxix. 42. (*c*) Numb. xxviii. 9, 10. (*d*) ver. 11, 15. (*e*) ver. 17. & seq.
 (*f*) Numb. xxix. (*g*) Lev. iv. 13, 14. (*b*) Judg. xx. 26.

2dly, Private sacrifices, offered for particular persons, were either stated or occasional. Of the former sort was the paschal lamb, sacrificed annually for each family; and the high priest's sin offering for himself, on the day of expiation (*a*). To this there is a reference in the following passage of the apostle, "Into the second" tabernacle, or holy of holies, "went the high priest alone every year, not without blood, which he offered for himself, and for the errors of the people (*b*)."

Occasional private sacrifices were offered on account of any trespass, committed against the law, or any legal pollution contracted; any vow made, any blessing received, &c.

3dly, Sacrifices are again to be distinguished, in respect to the subject matter of them, into bloody or unbloody, or into animal and vegetable.

The animal sacrifices were of one species of the herd; namely, the bullock, or cow, including the calf: two of the flock; namely, sheep and goats: and two of the fowls; namely, doves and pigeons.

The unbloody, or vegetable sacrifices, of which we are to speak at present, were the מִנְחֹת minchoth, and נֶסֶחִים nefachim, meat offerings and drink offerings. As for the tythes and first fruits we shall have occasion to speak of them hereafter.

The meat offerings were either attended with drink offerings, or they were offered alone.

1st, The meat offerings, attended with drink offerings, called מִנְחֹת נֶסֶחִים minchoth nefachim, were fine flour, salt, and oil, made

Z 2

either

(*a*) Lev. xvi. 6.(*b*) Heb. ix. 7.

either into thick cakes, or thin wafers, and baked either in a pan or oven. The drink offering was of wine, which was poured out at the base of the altar. These meat and drink offerings were a sort of appendages to the sacrifices; they were offered along with all the burnt offerings, except of birds; and with the peace offerings (*a*); but not with the sin offerings, except that which was offered at the cleansing a Leper (*b*).

2dly, The meat offerings alone, which were not offered along with animal sacrifices, were either publick or private.

The publick were the wave sheaf (*c*), and the twelve cakes of shew bread (*d*).

The private were either enjoined by the law, as that of the priest at his consecration (*e*), and that which the jealous husband was to offer (*f*); or they were allowed in case of poverty, when the persons could not afford a more costly sacrifice (*g*).

The meat offerings were all of white flour, except that of the jealous husband, which was of barley meal without any mixture; and the wave sheaf, which was not ground into flour; all the rest were fine wheat flour, seasoned with salt (*b*). Some were mixt with oil, or frankincense, or both (*i*). Some were offered unbaked, others baked.

Some were eat by the priests, without bringing them to the altar at all; as the leavened cakes, and the shew bread.

Some

(*a*) Numb. xv. 3, &c. (*b*) Lev. xiv. 10. (*c*) Lev. xxiii. 10, 11. (*d*) Lev. xxiv. 5. (*e*) Lev. vi. 20.
 (*f*) Numb. v. 15. (*g*) Lev. v. 11. (*h*) Lev. ii. 13.
 (*i*) ver. 15.

Some were wholly consumed on the altar, as every meat offering for a priest (*a*).

But as to the most of them, a memorial or small part was consumed on the altar; the rest belonged to the priest (*b*).

Thus I have given you a brief account of the jewish sacrifices. I shall only further observe, that if a person, obliged by the law to offer any of these sacrifices, refused to do it he was punished even with "cutting off." But the Jews were generally so zealously attached to their law, that there was very rarely any occasion for inflicting punishment upon this account. If a man, who lived at a great distance from Jerusalem, had fallen under an offence, which required him to make a sin or a trespass offering, the rabbies say, he might defer it till the next solemn festival, when all were obliged to appear before the Lord at the national altar *

(*a*) Lev. vi. 23. (*b*) Lev. ii. 2, 3.

* See on this subject Maimonides de sacrificiis, Abarbanel's exordium comment. in Levit. and Outram de sacrificiis.





C H A P. VI.

Of the PROPHEETS.

CONCERNING the prophets we shall first consider the name, and then the duty and business of the prophetick office.

As to the name, there are three different words, by which prophets are denominated in scripture; namely, רֹאֵה חֹזֶה נָבִיא roeh, chozeh, nabhi, which are all found in one passage, where we read of Samuel הָרֹאֵה haroeh, Nathan הַנָּבִיא hannabhi, and Gad הַחֹזֶה ha-chozeh (*a*). The word נָבִיא nabhi, is by some derived from בּוֹא bo venit, intimating that God came to the prophet by the divine afflatus. Thus Ezekiel saith, וַתָּבֹא בִי רוּחַ vattabo bi ruach, which we render, “and the spirit entered into me (*b*).” Some light, perhaps, may be hereby given to that remarkable promise of Christ, “If any man love me, he will keep my words, and I and my father will love him, and we will come and make our abode with him (*c*);” namely by the continual influence of the spirit on his heart.

But

(*a*) 1 Chron. xxix. 29.
xiv. 23.

(*b*) Ezek. ii. 2:

(*c*) John

But others derive נביא nabhi, from נוב nubh, provenire, from whence comes נִיב nibh, germen, fructus, a word metaphorically applied to speech, which is called the fruit נִיב nibh, of the lips (a); and it is said the mouth of the just bringeth forth נֹב' janubh, wisdom (b). Prophecy, therefore, being the fruit of the lips in consequence of divine inspiration, the prophet is called נביא nabhi. In the first place wherein this word occurs, it is applied to Abraham: "Restore the man his wife, for he is a prophet, and he shall pray for thee, and thou shalt live; but if thou restore her not, thou shalt die (c)." Where a נביא nabhi, is supposed to be a friend of God, whom he would not suffer to be wronged, and whose prayers were very prevalent with him. Accordingly by the psalmist God is represented as saying, "touch not mine anointed and do my prophets no harm (d)." And from the following passage of Jeremiah, it appears to have been the special business of the נבאים nebhiim or prophets, to pray for the people: "If they be prophets, and if the word of the Lord be with them, let them now make intercession to the Lord of hosts, &c (e)." And their prayers are supposed to be very prevalent with God: "Though Moses and Samuel stood before me, yet my mind could not be towards this people (f)." When, therefore, God was determined to bring judgments upon the Israelites, he forbade Jeremiah the prophet to pray for them: "Then said the Lord unto me, Pray not for this people for their good (g)."

Z 4

The

(a) Isa. lvii. 19. (b) Prov. x. 31. (c) Gen. xx. 7. (d) Psal. cv. 15. (e) Jerem. xxvii. 18. (f) Jerem. xv. 1. (g) Jerem. xiv. 11.

The other two names of a prophet **חֹזֶה** chofeh, and **רֹאֶה** roeh, seem to be fynonymous, both fignifying, one that feeth or discerneth; the former from **חָזָה** chazah, and the latter from **רָאָה** raah, vidit. And indeed it is hard to fay, how thefe three names or titles differ in their fignification.

It fhould feem, the word **רֹאֶה** roeh, was the more ancient denomination of the prophet; but in the days of Samuel the word **נָבִיא** nabhi, was grown into more common ufe; as appears from the following paffage; “He that is now called a prophet **נָבִיא** nabhi, was before-time called a feer **רֹאֶה** roeh (*a*).” Here a confiderable difficulty arifeth; for we do not any where meet with the word **רֹאֶה** roeh, in the fcripture hiftory before this time, whereas the word **נָבִיא** nabhi, is common in the writings of Mofes; who is therefore by fome fupposed not to have been the author of the Pentateuch, a word commonly occurring therein, which it feems was not ufed till long after his days.

One folution, that has been offered, is, that the word **נָבִיא** nabhi, though in common ufe in the days of Mofes, was not ufed in the fame fenfe, as **רֹאֶה** roeh was in the days of Samuel, namely for a revealer of fecrets, or a man by whom God was to be confulted; but that anciently it only fignified a friend of God, one who had an intimacy with him. But this is hardly reconcileable with the character of a **נָבִיא** nabhi, or prophet, defcribed in feveral places of the Pentateuch (*b*), as one to whom God makes himfelf known by vifions, or dreams,

(*a*) 1 Sam. ix. 9.
and chap. xviii. 22.

(*b*) Numb. xii. 6. Deut. xiii. 1.

dreams, who gives miraculous signs of his divine mission, and foretels things to come. And surely such a one must be as capable of revealing secrets, as any רֹאֵה roeh, or seer in after times.

Others solve the difficulty, by supposing the word רֹאֵה roeh, was anciently in vulgar use, and being esteemed a low word, which would have been unsuitable to the purity and dignity of Moses's style, he for that reason always uses the politer word נָבִיא nabhi; but that in Samuel's time נָבִיא nabhi, was also grown into common and vulgar use. No doubt there might be words in the Hebrew, as there are in our language, which are decently enough used in conversation, but are hardly thought proper for the pulpit or for any grave compositions. Of this sort might have been the word רֹאֵה roeh; but as the language grew more refined it was of course dropt, and the more polite word nabhi substituted in its room, both in conversation and in writing. It is observed in confirmation of this opinion, that the word רֹאֵה roeh, is but very seldom used in the sacred writings.

After all, I know not whether two lines of Horace in his art of poetry, will not suggest the easiest solution of this difficulty,

Multa renascentur, quæ jam cecidere; cadentque
Quæ nunc sunt in honore vocabula, si volet
usus. l. 70, 71.

The word נָבִיא nabhi, might have been common in the days of Moses, it might have grown much out of use in some centuries afterwards

terwards, when רוּחַ roeh, was used instead of it; and nevertheless be revived and become common in the days of Samuel.

Thus much for the name; we now come to consider the thing, or the duty and business of a prophet.

A prophet in the strict and proper sense was one to whom the knowledge of secret things was revealed, that he might declare them to others *, whether they were things past or present, or to come: the woman of Samaria perceived our Saviour was a prophet by his telling her the secrets of her past life (*a*). The prophet Elisha had the present conduct of his servant Gehazi revealed to him (*b*). And most of the prophets had revelations concerning future events; above all, concerning the coming and kingdom of the Messiah: "He has raised up a horn of salvation for us in the house of his servant David, as he spake by the mouth of his holy prophets, which have been since the world began (*c*)."
Nevertheless in a more lax or analogical sense, the title prophet is sometimes given to persons who had no such revelation, nor were properly inspired. Thus Aaron is said to be Moses's prophet: "The Lord said unto Moses, see I have made thee a god unto Pharaoh, and Aaron thy brother shall be thy prophet (*d*):" because Aaron received the divine messages, which he carried to Pharaoh immediately

* Maimon. Præfat. in Mishn. p. 4. edit. Surenhus. Appellabant Prophetam, Videntem, quod res futuras, antequam existerent, prævideret.

(*a*) John iv. 19. (*b*) 2 Kings v. 26. (*c*) Luke i. 69, 70. The rabbies say, all the prophets prophesied concerning the Messiah. Vid. Cod. Sanhedrin, cap. xi. §. xxxvii. p. 362. Cocceii excerpt. Gemar.

(*d*) Exod. vii. 1.

diately from Moses; whereas other Prophets received their messages immediately from God himself. In this respect, as Moses stood in the place of God to Pharaoh, so Aaron acted in the character of his prophet.

The title of prophets is given also to the sacred musicians, who sung the praises of God, or who accompanied the song with musical instruments. Thus "the sons of Asaph, and of Heman, and of Jeduthun," are said to "prophecy with harps, with psalteries and with cymbals (*a*);" and they "prophefied, it is said, according to the order of the king (*b*)."
Upon which R. S. Jarchi remarks, they prophefied when they played upon these musical instruments. We also read in the story of Saul's advancement to the kingdom of Israel, that he met "a company of prophets coming down from the high place with a psaltery and a tabor and a pipe and a harp before them; and they prophefied, and he with them (*c*)."
What kind of prophecy this was is evident; it was praising God with spiritual songs, and the melody of musical instruments. Perhaps Miriam, the sister of Aaron, may be called a prophetess only on this account, that she led the concert of the women, who sung the song of Moses with timbrels and with dances (*d*). Thus the heathen poets, who sung or composed verses in praise of their gods, were called by the Romans, vates, or prophets; which is of the same import with the greek *προφητης*, a title, which St. Paul gives to Epimenides a cretan poet (*e*).

This

(*a*) 1 Chron. xxv. 1. (*b*) ver. 2. (*c*) 1 Sam. x.

5, 10. (*d*) Exod. xv. 20, 21. (*e*) Tit. i. 12.

This notion of prophets and prophesying may give some light to the following passage in the first epistle to the Corinthians (*a*), “Every woman, praying or prophesying with her head uncovered, dishonoureth her head.” Propheſying cannot be underſtood in the ſtricter ſenſe of foretelling things to come, nor even of interpreting the holy ſcriptures by divine inſpiration; in which ſenſe the word ſeems to be uſed, when the apoſtle, diſcourſing of ſpiritual gifts, prefers the gift of prophecy above all others, becauſe, ſaith he, “he that prophetieth ſpeaketh unto men for edification and exhortation and comfort (*b*).” However, neither of theſe kinds of prophesying will ſuit with the deſign of the apoſtle, when, in the paſſage we are now conſidering, he ſpeaks of a woman’s prophesying in the church or congregation; for there ſhe was not permitted to ſpeak, nor ſo much as to aſk a queſtion for her inſtruction, much leſs to teach and inſtruct others (*c*). In order to ſolve the difficulty, ſome would have the word *προφητεύουσα* to be taken paſſively, and to ſignify, a hearing or being preſent at prophesying: but this is an acceptance of the term contrary to the rules of grammar, and without example either in ſcripture or in any profane author. Beſides, though ſhe may properly enough be ſaid to pray, as joining with the miniſter, who is the mouth of the congregation to God; yet with no propriety can ſhe be ſaid to prophesy, only as attending on the preaching of the miniſter, who is conſidered as the mouth of God to the congregation.

Perhaps,

(*a*) 1 Cor. xi. 5.

(*b*) 1 Cor. xiv. 3.

Perhaps, then, prophesying may here mean, (as we have shewed it does mean in other places) praising God in psalms and hymns. And thus praying and prophesying are fitly joined together, these being the two parts of publick worship, in which the whole congregation is supposed to unite*.

We have observed, that a prophet, in the strict and proper sense, was one, to whom the knowledge of secret things was revealed, in order that he might declare them to others. Of such prophets the talmudists reckon forty eight from Abraham to Malachi, and seven prophetesses †. It is remarkable, that though to make up their catalogue, they take in Eldad and Medad, mentioned in the book of Numbers (a); concerning whom, however, it does not appear, that they revealed any secret; but their prophesying was no more than exhorting the people to obedience to God, to which they were moved and in which they were assisted by the holy spirit, as were the rest of the seventy elders (b); notwithstanding this, I say, they do

* Vid. Mede's Diatrib. disc. xvi. on 1 Cor. xi. 5. p. 58. & seq. of his works. Smith in his discourse on prophecy, apprehends, that singing was called prophecy, when the songs or psalms were composed under the influence of the divine spirit, to the sound of musical instruments. Perhaps some of the prophets having uttered such inspired compositions to musick, might give occasion to the more general application of the term to all who sung divine hymns, accompanied with instrumental musick. See Smith's select discourses, p. 230, 232.

† Vid. Megill. fol. 14, 1. & R. S. Jarchi ad loc. Vid. etiam notam Vorstii ad p. 124. Maimon. tract. de fundament. Legis, edit. Amstel. 1680.

(a) Numb. xi. 26.

(b) ver. 25.

do not admit Daniel into the list *, nor place his writings among those of the prophets, but only among the hagiographa †; which they reckon of the least authority of all the canonical books. The reasons they assign for it, as they are recited by the authors of the ancient universal history ‡, are

1st, That Daniel was a courtier, and spent his life in luxury and grandeur in the service of an uncircumcised king.

2dly, That the spirit of prophecy was confined to the land of Canaan, out of which he lived all his life. And some have added a

3d, Reason; namely, that he was made a eunuch, according to Isaiah's prophecy, which he delivered to Hezekiah (a); and such were excluded from entering into the congregation of the Lord: though Aben-Ezra vindicates him from this imputation (b).

R. Johanan is represented in the Gemara as casting a still more injurious reflection on him; namely, that he stole into Egypt to buy hogs; at the time Nebuchadnezzar set up his golden Image, and his three friends, Shadrach, Meshech and Abednego were thrown into the fiery furnace for refusing to worship it §.

After

* Vid. Cocceii excerpt. Gemar. cod. Sanhedr. cap. xi. §. xvi. p. 324. edit. Amstel. 1629. Hi (nempe Hagæus Zacharias & Malachias) præstabant ipsi, qui essent prophetæ, quum Daniel non fuerit propheta. Ipse illis major ob visam visionem.

† Maimon. More Neboch. part ii. cap. xlv. p. 318, 319. edit. Buxtorf. Basil. 1629.

‡ Hist. of the Jews, book i. chap. vii. sect. iii. sub fin. note.

(a) 2 Kings xx. 18.

(b) Aben-ezra in Daniel.

§ Vid. cod. Sanhedrim, cap. xi. §. xiii. apud Cocceii excerpt. Gemar. p. 320. edit. Amstel. 1629.

After all it is easy to discern, what was the true cause of the rancour, which many of the rabbies have discovered against this eminent prophet; it is, because he has so clearly predicted and ascertained the time of the Messiah's coming, which is long since elapsed; and because of the great advantage which the Christians have hereby obtained in their arguments against the Jews. Therefore, I say, though their historian Josephus was so far from denying him the title of a prophet, that he has in several respects given him the preference to the rest of the prophets*; and notwithstanding the high character that is given of him in the prophecy of Ezekiel (*a*), wherein he is ranked with Noah and Job, men of eminent righteousness and piety; nevertheless several of the rabbies, though not all†, have spitefully endeavoured to sink his character below that of a prophet, or even of a good man.

Malachi has been commonly reckoned by the Christians the last prophet‡ under the Old Testament dispensation, with whom the spirit of prophecy ceased four hundred eighty-six years before Christ. Nevertheless Josephus mentions several others, who during those ages predicted various future events by the spirit of prophecy;

as

* Antiq. lib. x. cap. xi. §. 7. p. 543. edit. Haverc.

(*a*) Ezek. xiv. 14.

† Vid. Hottinger. Thesaur. philolog. lib. ii. cap. i. sect. iii. p. 511. edit. Tigur. 1649.

‡ So saith the Talmud likewise. Vid. Cocceii excerpt Gemar. Sanhedr. cap. i. §. xiii. p. 156. Tradunt Magistri, ex quo mortui sunt prophetæ posteriores, Haggæus, Zacharias, Malachias, ablati sunt spiritus sanctus ab Israele.

as one Judas an Essene*, Sameas†, Mahanem‡, and Hircanus the high-priest, the fourth of the Asmonean princes from Judas Maccabeus, is said by Josephus to be honoured with three of the highest dignities, being a prophet, as well as prince and high-priest. In his antiquities he gives two instances of his prophetick gift §. However that be, we have good authority to add John the baptist to the list of prophets under the Old Testament, though his history is recorded in the New; for he lived and prophesied before the kingdom of God, or the Messiah's kingdom was set up. Accordingly our Saviour distinguishes the time, in which John the baptist lived, from the time of the kingdom of God, or the gospel dispensation. "Among those that are born of women, there is not a greater prophet, than John the baptist; but he that is least in the kingdom of God, is greater than he (*a*);" that is, on account of the clearness of the gospel revelation, by means of which ordinary Christians may know more of the glories of divine grace, than any of the Old Testament prophets, or even John himself knew.

On the same account we may add to the list of the Old Testament prophets, Zechariah the father of John, "who was filled with the holy Ghost and prophesied (*b*);" and likewise Simeon, and

* Antiq. lib. xiii. cap. xi. §. 2. p. 665. edit. Haverc.
 Ἰουδαν τινὰ Ἐσσηνὸν μὲν τὸ γένος, εὐδαιμόνως δὲ ἐν οἷς προεβίβη δια-
 ψευσαμένον τὰ λήδες.

† Lib. xv. cap. i. §. 1. p. 740.

‡ Ibid. cap. x. §. 5. p. 777.

§ Lib. xiii. cap. x. §. 3. p. 662. and cap. xii. §. 1. p. 666.

(*a*) Luke vii. 28.

(*b*) Luke i. 67.

and Anna the prophetess (a). Indeed some of the jewish rabbies will not allow that the spirit of prophecy ever quite departed from them; but they tell us of a certain *δαδελχια* or torch of prophecy, one shining when another was set. R. Kimchi gives us this mystical gloss upon the following passage in the first book of Samuel, “ And it came to pass at that time, when Eli, was laid down in his place, and his eyes began to wax dim, that he could not see, and ere the lamp of God went out in the temple of the Lord, where the ark of God was, and Samuel was laid down to sleep, that the Lord called Samuel (b):” I say, R. Kimchi, glossing on these words, saith, this is spoken mystically concerning the spirit of prophecy; according to the saying among our doctors, “ The sun riseth, and the sun setteth; that is, e’er God makes the sun of one righteous man to set, he makes the sun of another righteous man to rise.”

But, leaving the jewish whims and fables concerning the number of their prophets, we proceed to enquire concerning the manner in which the revelation was made, both by God to the prophets, and by them to the people.

However before we directly consider the manner, in which God revealed secrets to the prophets, it will be proper to premise a few words concerning the qualifications of a prophet, or the pre-requisites to a man’s receiving the spirit of prophecy.

The first and most essential qualification of a prophet was true piety. This is the constant sense and opinion of the jewish doctors*. To

VOL. I.

A a

which

(a) Luke ii. 25, 36. (b) 1 Sam. iii. 2,—4.

* Maimon. Moreh Nebhoch. part. ii. cap. xxxii. p. 284.

which agree those words of St. Peter, "Holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost (a)." Yet this general rule is not without exceptions; for God, on special occasions; and for particular purposes, sometimes vouchsafed the prophetick spirit to bad men; as to Balaam, "who loved the wages of unrighteousness." However, it may well be supposed, that none but good men were stated prophets, so as to be frequently favoured with the divine afflatus; and especially that none but such were honoured with being employed as the writers of any part of the canon of scripture. Infomuch that the assertion of St. Peter concerning the written prophecies of the Old Testament is true without exception.

We may, perhaps, reasonably account for the ceasing of the spirit of prophecy from among the Jews in the latter ages of their polity, till it was revived at the coming of our Saviour, from their universal degeneracy and corruption in religion and morals.

2dly, The mind of the prophet must be in a proper posture and frame for receiving the divine afflatus, or prophetick spirit. That is, say the doctors, it must not be oppressed with grief, or disturbed with passion of any kind. Their tradition says, that Jacob did not prophesy all the time of his grief for the loss of Joseph; nor Moses for a long time after the return of the spies, who brought an evil report of the land of Canaan, because of his indignation against them *. And by the holy spirit, which David prays might not be taken away,
but

(a) 2 Pet. i. 21.

* Maimon. Moreh Nebhoch. cap. xxxvi. p. 295, 296.

but restored to him (*a*); the chaldee paraphrast, and the hebrew commentators, understand the spirit of prophecy; which, they say, was withdrawn on account of his sorrow and grief for his shameful miscarriage in the matter of Uriah. And when he prays, that God would “make him to hear joy and gladness (*b*),” they understand it of a chearful frame of mind, which would fit him for receiving the prophetick afflatus; and “the free spirit, with which, he prays he might be upheld (*c*),” they interpret of a spirit of alacrity and liberty of mind, free from the oppression of grief, or discomposure of passion.

In order to prove, that passion disqualified a man for receiving the prophetick afflatus, they alledge the story of Elisha in the third chapter of the second book of Kings: When the kings of Judah, and Israel, and Edom, in their distress for water during an expedition against Moab, came to Elisha, to enquire of God by him, the prophet seems to have been moved with indignation against the wicked king of Israel, addressing him in the following manner, “What have I to do with thee? get thee to the prophets of thy father, and to the prophets of thy mother; surely if it were not that I regard the presence of Jehosaphat, the king of Judah, I would not look upon thee, nor see thee (*d*).” However, being willing to oblige Jehosaphat, “he called for a minstrel, and it came to pass, when the minstrel played, that the hand of the Lord came upon him (*e*).” The use of the minstrel seems to be to calm his passion, and

A a 2 compose

(*a*) Psal. li. 10, 11.

(*b*) ver. 8:

(*c*) ver. 12;

(*d*) 2 Kings iii. 12, 13.

(*e*) ver. 15.

compose his mind, that he might be fit to receive the divine afflatus.

This may perhaps suggest to us one reason, why the prophets practised musick (*a*); namely, because of its tendency to compose their minds, and to free them from all such melancholly or angry passions, as would render them unfit for the spirit of prophecy. We find this remedy successfully applied to Saul's melancholly: "And it came to pass, when the evil spirit from God was upon Saul, that David took an harp, and played with his hand; so Saul was refreshed, and was well, and the evil spirit departed from him (*b*)."¹ This evil spirit was perhaps originally nothing but melancholly, or grief and anguish, which however, through divine permission, was wrought upon and heightened by the insinuations of some evil spirit, which at times, it seems, instigated him to prophecy: "It came to pass on the morrow, that the evil spirit came upon him, and he prophesied in the midst of the house (*c*):"² which the targum of Jonathan renders, *insanivit in medio domûs*; and rabbi Levi Ben Gershon glosses upon it thus, "He spake in the midst of the house very confusedly, by reason of the evil spirit." But why this should be called prophesying, is not easy to determine, unless he sometimes sung in his raving fits, since singing is called prophesying, as we have already shewn. Mr. Henry supposes Saul pretended a religious extasy, imitating the motions and gestures of a prophet, with a design to decoy David into a snare, and put him off from his

(*a*) See 1 Sam. x. 5.

(*b*) 1 Sam. xvi. 23.

(*c*) 1 Sam. xviii. 10.

his guard, and perhaps, if he could kill him, to impute it to a divine impulse. However that was, Saul's original disorder was probably melancholly, for which musick was a proper remedy. And so it is often still found to be; particularly, for the deep melancholly occasioned by the bite of a Tarantula, which is ordinarily cured by this means. You may see a great variety of instances of the powerful effects of musick in calming the passions of the mind, and in some cases curing the disorders of the body, produced by Bochart in his Hierozoicon*.

We come now to consider the manner, in which God revealed secrets to the prophets; which the apostle saith, was *παραλογισμῶς*, “in divers manners (a),” as by dreams, visions, inspirations, voices and angels.

1st, By dreams and visions. I join these together, since they seem to be sometimes used as synonymous terms; and visions import no more than prophetick dreams. Thus Nebuchadnezzar's dream is called the visions of his head (b). And so is Daniel's dream (c). This is properly what we are to understand by a “Vision of the night (d) in the book of Job, and God is said to “speak in a dream, in a vision of the night (e).” And in Genesis God “spake unto Israel in the visions of the night (f).” Nevertheless, in some other places, visions seem to be distinguished from dreams; as in the following passage, “Your old men shall dream dreams, and your young men shall

A a 3 see

* Part. i. lib. ii. cap. xlv. p. 461,—465. oper. vol. ii. 1712. (a) Heb. i. 1. (b) Dan. ii. 28. (c) chap. vii. 1. (d) Job xx. 8. (e) Job xxxiii. 14, 15. (f) Gen. xlvi. 2.

see visions (*a*).” When a vision is distinguished from a dream, I conceive it denotes the representation of things made to the imagination of the prophet, while he is awake. Perhaps the difference betwixt prophetick dreams and visions, may be much the same, as betwixt common dreams and a delirium in a fever; in which the patient, though awake, imagines he sees things and persons that are not present, and of which therefore his senses give him no notice.

Such was the vision that St. Peter saw in a trance or extasy (*b*). For he saw it, not upon his bed in the visions of the night, but on the house top about noon, while he was at prayer (*c*). Such perhaps was Paul’s vision of the third heavens (*d*); though whether this was not more than a vision Paul himself could not inform us: “Whether in the body I cannot tell; or out of the body I cannot tell; God knoweth.” That is, whether celestial objects were represented to him in a vision only; or whether his soul was really for a time separated from his body, and translated into the heavenly regions. However, by the way, we may surely conclude from St. Paul’s uncertainty on this head, that the soul is something quite distinct from the body, which can exist and act, and receive and understand celestial things in a state of separation from it; otherwise the soul must have had this vision in the body, or not at all, and it could have been no doubt with St. Paul, whether at this time he was in the body or out of the body.

Again,

(*a*) Joel ii. 28. (*b*) Acts xi. 5. (*c*) Acts x. 9, 10.
 (*d*) 2 Cor. xii. 1, 2, 4.

Again, the word vision is applied not only to such imaginary representations, but to real miraculous appearances made to the senses. Thus the angel's appearing to Zechariah in the temple is called a vision (*a*). Sometimes the word is used in a laxer sense, for any kind of divine revelation; as the voice which the child Samuel heard in the tabernacle, is called a vision, though it does not seem to have been accompanied with any sensible appearance (*b*). The books of the prophecies of Isaiah, Obadiah and Nahum are expressly called their visions; though it does not seem probable, that all the revelations, contained in them, were conveyed to the prophets by visionary representations.

It has been inquired, how the prophets could certainly distinguish these prophetick dreams and visions, from common dreams, and from enthusiastical and diabolical delusions; for which purposes several criteria have been assigned, by jewish and christian writers; For instance

1st, Divine dreams and visions are said to have been known by the extraordinary majesty and splendor of the appearance, or the strength and vigour of the representation made to the prophet, and the liveliness of his perception of it (*c*); which, sometimes, was such, as the feeble powers of nature could hardly sustain*.

A a 4

2dly,

(*a*) Luke i. 22.

(*b*) 1 Sam. iii. 15.

(*c*) See Dan. vii. 8. viii. 27. x. 8.

* Maimon. de fundament. legis, cap. vii. §. iii. p. 92, 103. edit. & interpret. verstij, Amstel. 1680.

2dly, During the divine extasy the prophet had the full exercise of his reason *; whereas diabolical possessions and inspirations threw him into a fit of madness. So Virgil describes the Sybill, when the prophetick afflatus came upon her, as perfectly distracted and raving.

———Subito non vultus, non color unus,
Non comptæ mansere comæ: sed pectus anhelans,
Et rabie fera corda tument; majorque videri,
Nec mortale sonans: Afflata est Numine quando
Jam proprio Dei.

Æneid VI. l. 47. & seq.

2dly, The subject matter of divine visions and revelations, it is supposed, was always serious, weighty and important; such as it became the wisdom and holiness and majesty of God to reveal.

After all, if we are content without being wise above what is written, we must frankly acknowledge, we do not certainly know what those criteria were. But of this we may be sure, and it is sufficient, that God, who has an absolute power over the hearts and spirits of men, can give any man certain evidence and assurance in his own breast, that a revelation
which

* This is agreeable to the definition, which Maimonides gives of prophecy, that it is an influence of the Deity first upon the rational, and then upon the imaginative faculty, by the mediation of the active intellect. Vid. Moreh nebhoch. part ii. cap. xxxvi. p. 292. compare cap. xxxviii. especially p. 300. De veris prophetis tantum loquutus sum, ut nempe excipiam eos,—qui nulla rationalia, neque sapientiam habent, sed nudas tantum imaginationes, & cogitationes. Reason therefore, according to this judicious rabbi, was always in exercise during the prophetick extasy.

which he is pleased to vouchsafe, does indeed come from him; otherwise, God would be supposed to be the most impotent of all rational beings, who while he is capable of conveying his mind to his creatures, is incapable of making them sensible that he does so. When Jacob awoke out of his sleep, he certainly knew (by what criterion we cannot tell) that the visionary dream, with which he had been favoured, was of God (*a*). Pharaoh, though a heathen king, knew his dream was extraordinary and prophetick, as appears by his spirit being so troubled about it, and by his sending for all the magicians and wise men of Egypt to explain it to him (*b*). And Nebuchadnezzar was sure he had had an extraordinary prophetick dream, though he could not recollect it. Otherwise we cannot suppose, he would have been so exceeding angry at the wise men of Babylon, for not revealing and explaining it to him (*c*). And no doubt God gave Abraham likewise such irresistible evidence and assurance, that it was he who commanded him to sacrifice his son Isaac, as overcame all the reluctance of paternal affection, and whatever reason might object against so unnatural a sacrifice, or he would never have set about it.

Thus much for the criteria by which the prophets might know, that their dreams or visions and other revelations came from God.

Before we have done with this head, it will be proper to enquire, by what criteria other persons might judge and be assured, that the revelations,

(*a*) Gen. xxviii. 16.

(*b*) Gen. xli. 8.

(*c*) Dan.

ii. 12.

revelations, which the prophets delivered, were true divine revelations.

Here it must be observed, that if the prophet delivered any thing, that was contradictory to the invariable law of nature, it was to be rejected, and he was to be treated as a false prophet, even though he produced miracles in evidence of his mission from God (*a*). For it was a much more supposeable case, that the devil might counterfeit miracles, than that God would contradict the immutable law of nature.

But if nothing which the prophet delivered, was contrary to that law, then his divine mission might be evidenced various ways:

1st, By the sanctity of his own life*, which afforded very probable ground to believe, that he did not counterfeit and pretend revelations, which had not been made to him. Upon this evidence Herod regarded John the baptist as a divine prophet. He “feared John, knowing that he was a just man and holy (*b*).”

2dly, By the testimony of other prophets of undoubted veracity†. Thus Moses bore testimony to Joshua, when he gave him a charge in the name of God before all the congregation (*c*). And John the baptist, whom the Jews acknowledged to be a prophet, bore witness to Christ (*d*).

3dly,

(*a*) Deut. xiii. 1,—3.

* Maimon. de fundament. legis, cap. vii. §. i, ii, p. 87,—89. edit & interpret. Vorstii, Amstel. 1680.

(*b*) Mark vi. 20.

† Maimon. de fundament. legis, cap. x. §. ix. p. 147.

(*c*) Deut. xxxi. 23.

(*d*) John i. 29, 30.

3dly, Sometimes his mission was proved by miracles; as the mission of Moses to the people of Israel (*a*), and afterwards to Pharaoh (*b*).

4thly, At other times, by some sudden and remarkable judgment from God, upon such as slighted and rejected the message he delivered in the name of the Lord; as on Jeroboam, when he commanded the man of God to be taken into custody for the prediction he delivered (*c*); and in the case of Elijah's calling down fire from heaven, to consume the captains and troops of the king of Samaria (*d*).

5thly, By the accomplishment of his predictions: whereas if what he foretold, did not come to pass, he was to be treated as a false prophet (*e*). Yet this rule was not to hold concerning the predictions of judgments, but only of good things or favourable events (*f*). But as for prophetick threatnings, they were supposed to be conditional, and that the judgments or punishments denounced might be averted by repentance. It is evident the Ninevites understood Jonah's prediction of the destruction of their city in forty days, in this sense, though delivered without any condition expressed (*g*). Otherwise, they would have had no encouragement to repent, in hopes that thereby the judgment might be averted (*h*). It was therefore, no evidence against Jonah's being a true prophet, commissioned of God, that this his prediction was not fulfilled*.

It

(*a*) Exod. iv. 1,—10.

(*b*) Exod. vii. 9.

(*c*) 1 Kings xiii. 1,—6.

(*d*) 2 Kings i. 9,—12.

(*e*) Deut. xviii. 22.

(*f*) See Jerem. xxviii. 9.

(*g*) Jon. iii. 4. (*h*) ver. 9.

* Maimon, de fundament. legis, cap. x. §. ii,—viii.

It is very proper, while we are upon the subject of prophetick dreams and visions, to enquire, whether the accounts of the several symbolical actions, said to be done by the prophets, are histories of real facts, or only relations of their dreams and visions. Such as Isaiah's walking naked and bare foot three years, "for a sign and wonder" upon Egypt and Ethiopia (*a*); Jeremiah's hiding his girdle in a rock by Euphrates (*b*), Ezekiel's mock siege of Jerusalem (*c*), Hosea's taking a wife of whoredom (*d*), and several others.

Learned men of considerable reputation have been divided in their sentiments on this question. Abarbanel and R. Solomon among the Jews, and the generality of christian writers before Calvin, understood these narratives in the literal sense, as histories of real facts. On the other side, Aben-Ezra and Maimonides * and since Calvin, several other christian writers take them to be only relations of prophetic dreams and visions.

The principal argument alledged to prove these actions were really done, is, that several of them are said to be signs to the people: as Isaiah's walking naked and barefoot, Ezekiel's mock siege of Jerusalem (*e*), and his removing his household goods (*f*). Now, it is said, how could that be a sign to any people, which never was presented before them, but only acted in the imagination of the prophet? To this, however it may be replied that these expressions, "this shall be a sign," or "I have set thee to be

(*a*) Isai. xx. 2, 3.

(*b*) Jerem. xiii. 4, 5.

(*c*) Ezek. iv.

(*d*) Hof. i. 2.

* Vid. Maimon. Moreh nebhoch, part ii. cap. xlvi.

(*e*) Ezek. iv. 3.

(*f*) Ezek. xii. 6.

be a sign to the house of Israel," were a part of the dream or vision; the prophet imagining not only that he saw and did certain things or actions, but that he heard such declarations concerning the end for which they were designed. These were therefore imaginary signs given to imaginary persons; but when afterwards the vision was revealed to the real persons, for whose use it was intended, it must have the same effect upon them, (provided they believed it to be a divine vision), as if it had been a real fact, and transacted before their eyes. And thus what was done in vision was properly a sign to them, to whom it was declared and applied by the prophet.

On the other hand to prove that those symbolical actions of the prophets were done only in imagination, or that the accounts of them are mere narratives of the prophets dreams or visions, it is alledged,

1st, That several of the things, said to be done, are highly improbable, if not impossible to be really performed. For instance, that Isaiah should walk naked and barefooted three years together, summer and winter, even if you understand by his being naked, merely being without his upper garment: that Jeremiah should send yokes to the king of Edom, and to the king of Moab, and to the king of the Ammonites, and to the king of Tyrus, and to the king of Zidon (a); and that he should take so long a journey, as from Jerusalem to the Euphrates, which is about five hundred miles, to hide his girdle in a rock; and that after it was rotted, he should take the same long

(a) Jerem. xxvii. 3.

long journey to fetch it back again (*a*) ; and that he should take a wine cup from God, and carry it up and down to all nations far and near, even all the kingdoms which are upon the face of the earth, and make them drink it ; is more than improbable (*b*). So likewise that Ezekiel should actually eat a roll, which God gave him (*c*) ; and that he should lie upon his left side three hundred and ninety days together, and after that forty days together on his right side, with bands upon him, that he could not turn from one side to the other (*d*), is not only extremely improbable upon several accounts, but hardly possible to be done in the time allotted to this whole affair ; for it all passed betwixt the prophet's seeing his first vision at the river Kebar, which was on the fifth day of the fourth month, in the fifth year of king Jehoiachin's captivity (*e*), and his sitting in his house with the elders of Judah on the fifth day of the sixth month of the sixth year (*f*) ; that is, within a year and two months. Now the Jewish year, being lunar, consisted of three hundred fifty four days, and their month of twenty-nine days, and thirty days alternately ; therefore a year and two months, (three hundred fifty four, twenty nine and thirty added together) could amount to no more then four hundred and thirteen days ; which falls short of the number of days, during which the prophet is said to lie on his side, namely, four hundred and thirty days, by seventeen days. And if you deduct also, from the four hundred and thirteen days, the seven days which he sat among the

(*a*) Jerem. xiii. 4, 6, 7. (*b*) Jerem. xxv. 15,—29.
 (*c*) Ezek. iii. 1, 3. (*d*) Ezek. iv. (*e*) Ezek. i.
 1, 2. (*f*) Ezek. viii. 1.

the captives at Telabib (*a*), there remains but four hundred and six days ; which are twenty four days short of four hundred and thirty.

The only colour of an answer, which I have met with to this argument, is, that possibly this might be an embolymean year, in which a whole month was intercalated ; as it was once in three years ; or more exactly, there were seven embolymean years in nineteen, in order to reduce the lunar year to the solar. On this supposition indeed, there will be time enough for the prophet's lying on his side, in the literal sense, four hundred and thirty days. But this solution is too subtle for common readers. Four hundred and thirty days, with the addition of seven days when the prophet sat at Telabib, amount to a year and near three months in common computation ; and can it be thought the sacred writer would have allotted but a year and two months for the whole affair, (supposing it to be a history of real fact,) without the least hint how the glaring contradiction, which would stare every body in the face on the first reading, might possibly be reconciled ?

To this head of impossibles we may refer God's bringing Abraham abroad into the field, and shewing him the stars (*b*) ; since it appears, that it was not yet sun set : “ when the sun was going down, it is said, a great sleep fell upon Abraham (*c*).” From whence it is manifest, that his going out before to view the stars, his ordering several living creatures for sacrifice, and his driving away the fowls that came down upon the carcases, were all performed in prophetic vision only ; as is indeed intimated when
it

(*a*) Ezek. iii. 15. (*b*) Gen. xv. 5. (*c*) ver. 12.

it is said, "The word of the Lord came unto Abraham in a vision (a)."

2dly, There are some things said to be done by the prophets, in their narratives of these symbolical actions, which could not be really done without sin; and therefore we may conclude, that neither did God order them, nor did they really do them; but all was transacted in the prophet's imagination in a dream or vision only. Thus the prophet Hosea is said, at the command of God, to take a wife of whoredom, that is, a whore; and to have three children by her, which are called the children of whoredom, that is, bastards (b). Those, who will have this to be real fact, alledge that she is called a wife of whoredom; which intimates, they say, that though she had been a lewd person, yet the prophet was legally married to her. But they forget, that the children, which she bore him, are called children of whoredom. Besides, he is ordered to "love another woman an adulteress (c);" and is said to have bought or hired her for "fifteen pieces of silver, and an homer and an half of barley, to abide with him many days (d):" Circumstances, which evidently point out a lewd mistress, not a lawful wife.

Now can it be supposed, that the prophet Hosea, the chief scope of whose prophecy is to discover sin, and to denounce the judgments of God upon a people that would not be reformed, would himself be guilty of such an immoral and scandalous practice, as to cohabit with one harlot after another? Much less can it

(a) Gen. xv. 1.
(d) ver. 2, 3.

(b) Hof. i. 2.

(c) Hof. iii. 1.

it be thought, that God would have commanded him so to do. It is far more likely, that the whole narrative is a relation of his prophetic dreams, in which matters were represented to his senses, that would by no means have been fit to be done in reality; which dreams furnished out an awakening and very instructive parable to the people of Israel and Judah, who were intended by the two harlots.

3dly, A further argument to prove, that these symbolical actions were only performed in the imaginations of the prophets, is drawn from their own narratives, by the learned Mr. Smith in his discourse on prophecy*. He observes, that the prophets use a different style, when relating their imaginary symbolical actions, and when speaking of what they really did. In the former case, they commonly speak in the first person; as "I did so and so," and the Lord said so and so to me; whereas in the latter case, they speak of themselves in the third person, after the manner of historians relating a matter of fact. Thus, after an account of one of these symbolical actions, namely, "the prophet's getting a potter's earthen bottle, and taking with him the ancients of the people, and the ancients of the priests, and conducting them to the vally of the son of Hinnom, and there breaking the bottle before them (a);" it follows, "then came Jeremiah from Tophet, whither the Lord had sent him to prophecy, and he stood in the court of the Lord's house (b)." Now Mr. Smith sup-

VOL. I. B b poses,

* See Smith's select discourses, discourse on prophecy; chap. vi. p. 218. edit 2, Cambridge, 1673.

(a) Jerem. xix. (b) ver. 14.

poses, that when the prophet thus spoke of himself in the third person, he relates some real fact; and that Jeremiah, therefore, really wore a yoke on his neck, which the false prophet Hananiah broke (*a*). However, this observation will hardly hold universally; for Hosea relates the story of his cohabiting with the former adulteress in the third person (*b*), and of his cohabiting with the second in the first person (*c*). Yet there is no reason to believe, one was real fact, any more than the other. Though this argument, therefore, must be acknowledged to be ingenious, no stress can be laid upon it. And so the two former arguments, it is presumed, are sufficient to satisfy us, that many of the scripture narratives of the symbolical actions of the prophets are only relations of their prophetick dreams or visions.

2dly, Another way, in which secrets were revealed to the prophets, was by inspiration; that is, when something was suggested to the mind of the prophet while he was awake, without any such scenical representation to his imagination or fancy, as is made in dreams and visions. The jewish writers distinguish inspiration into several degrees, the chief of which, and indeed all that are worth our notice, are what they call רוח הקודש ruach hakkodhesh, or the holy spirit, and the Gradus Mosaicus, the degree of Moses, which they make to be the highest of all.

The 1st, רוח הקודש ruach hakkodhesh, is thus distinguished by Maimonides when a man perceives some power to arise within and rest upon him, which urgeth him to speak; insomuch that,

(*a*) Jerem. xxviii. 10.
iii.

(*b*) Hos. i.

(*c*) Hos.

that, under this impulse, he either discourses concerning arts and sciences, or utters psalms and hymns, or useful and salutary precepts for the conduct of life, or matter political and civil, or sacred and divine; and that while he is awake, and has the ordinary use and vigour of his senses; this is such a one, concerning whom it is said, that he speaks by the holy spirit *. And thus St. Peter says, that "prophecy came not in old time by the will of man, but holy men spake as they were moved by the holy ghost (a)." Such was the inspiration of Zecharias, of whom it is said, that "he was filled with the holy ghost and prophesied (b);" and also of his wife Elizabeth, who "was filled with the holy ghost, and spake with a loud voice, &c (c)." What they delivered was immediately suggested to their minds by the holy ghost. This kind of inspiration was calm and gentle, and did not throw the prophet into those fears and consternations and disorders of body, which the prophetick dreams and visions sometimes did †. But he continued, all the time the afflatus was upon him, in full possession of himself. And by this circumstance divine inspiration was distinguished from the pseudoprophetick spirit of the Heathens, and other pretenders to prophecy; which if it did, indeed, without dissimulation, enter into any

B b 2

person;

* Maimon. Moreh neboch, part ii. cap. xlv. p. 317.

(a) 2 Pet. i. 21. (b) Luke i. 67, (c) ver. 41, 42.

† See Jerem. xxiii. 9. Ezek. iii. 14. Dan. vii. 15. viii. 27. Hab. iii. 2. and perhaps to this class we may also refer Isai. xxi. 2, 3. though Jonathan the targumist and some others understand the prophet as here speaking in the person of the Chaldeans, and representing the horrors and anguish that should come upon them.

person ; its energy seems to have been merely on the imagination or fancy, which was thereby so disturbed, that the prophet was thrown into a sort of fury or madness. Thus Virgil represents the Sybil as distracted and raving when the prophetick afflatus came upon her in a passage quoted before. The Pythian prophetess is described by Lucan *, as full of fury, when she was inspired by the prophetick spirit, and uttering her oracles with her hair torn, and foaming at the mouth, with many antic gestures. And Cassandra is represented by Lycophron, as prophesying in the same manner †.

This sort of enthusiastic extacy was accounted by the primitive fathers to be a sure diagnostick of a false prophet. Hence Miltiades made it an objection against the Montanists ‡ ; and Clemens Alexandrinus saith of those who made false pretences to prophecy, that they prophesied being in an extasy, like the servants of the devil §. Tertullian, who was a friend to the Montanists, grants, they were sometimes exatrical in their prophetic dreams or visions, but denies they fell into any rage or fury, which, he seems to admit is the character of a false prophet ||. St. Jerom, in his preface to Isaiah says, “ the prophets did not speak in extasies, neither did they speak they knew not what ; nor were they, when they went about to instruct others, ignorant of what they said, themselves.” St. Chrysostom is of the same opinion §§. “ It is the property of a diviner, says he, to be exatrical, to under-
dergoe

* Lucan, lib. v. l. 142,—218. passim † Lycoph.
Cassandr. ab init. ‡ Euseb. Eccles. Histor. lib. v.
cap. xvii. p. 232, 233. edit. Cantab. 1720. § Strom.
lib. i. p. 311. D. edit. Paris. 1641. || Tertull. de
Animâ, cap. xlv. p. 297. D. edit. Rigalt. §§ Vid.
Hom. xxix. in 1 Cor.

dergoe some violence, to be tossed and hurried about like a madman; but it is otherwise with the prophet, whose understanding is awake, and his mind in a sober and orderly temper; and he knows every thing he saith." Hence we may infer, what opinion these fathers would have entertained of the exatic fits of the modern french prophets, quakers, methodists and moravians.

The energy of the pseudoprophetick spirit is further represented as irresistible by the prophets themselves; so that they could not withstand it, nor suppress it's dictates, but must immediately utter what it suggested. Thus Virgil represents the Sybil, in her raving fit, as striving, but in vain, to shake off the prophetick afflatus, while it returned upon her with so much the more violence, and forced her to utter prophecies.

" At Phœbi nondum patiens, immanis in antro
 " Bacchatur vates, magnum si pectore possit
 " Excussisse Deum; tanto magis ille fatigat
 " Os rabidum, fera cordadamans finitque pre-
 mendo. Æneid VI. l. 77, &c.

On the contray, the true prophets were only *φερομενοι απο πνευματος αγιου* (a), "moved by the holy ghost," as we render it. The word imports a more gentle influence and suggestion, without any thing of force and violence upon the mind; such an influence as no way disturbed and hindered, but rather promoted, the exercise of reason and prudence. For the verb *φερω* signifies to uphold, support, bear, or carry; as the tree bears fruit (b); and as Christ is

B b 3

said

said to “uphold all things by the word of his power (a),” *φύειν πάντα*, &c. The sense of which may perhaps be expressed by those beautiful lines of Virgil,

Principio cœlum, ac terras, camposque liquentes
Lucentemque globum lunæ, titaniaque astra
Spiritus intus alit, totamque infusa per artus
Mens agitat molem, & magno se corpore miscet.
Æneid. VI. l. 724, & seq.

And the prophets of God being thus moved by the spirit in the full exercise of their own reason and prudence, may give light to that passage of the apostle Paul, “The spirits of the prophets are subject to the prophets (b);” or as *υποτασσεται* may perhaps be more justly rendered, are under the direction of, or are to be ordered by the prophets; and it is most naturally interpreted by Œcumenius*, and Theophylact†, as spoken in opposition to the heathen prophets, who, when the afflatus was upon them could not be silent if they would; whereas a true divine afflatus was so far subject to the reason and discretion of the prophet, that he could wait, till it was proper to deliver what had been suggested to him, and therefore they might all, as the apostle directs, prophesy one by one (c), and so avoid that confusion and tumult, which several persons speaking together

(a) Heb. i. 3.

(b) 1 Cor. xiv. 32.

* Œcumen. comment. in loc. vol. 1. p. 564. D. edit. Paris 1630.

† Theophyl. comment. in epist. in loc. p. 288, 289. edit. London. 1636.

(c) ver. 31.

gether would necessarily occasion, and to which the spirit of God did no way constrain them (a).

2dly, The highest degree of inspiration is, according to the jewish doctors, the Gradus-Mosaicus; which Maimonides makes to excel that of any other prophet in four particulars:

1st, That Moses received his revelation awake, and in the full use of his reason and senses; whereas God manifested himself to all other prophets by dreams and visions, when their senses were locked up, and as it were useless.

2dly, That Moses prophesied without the mediation of any angelic power, whereas all the rest prophesied by the help of the ministry of angels.

3dly, That all other prophets were afraid and troubled, and fainted, when the divine afflatus was upon them. But Moses was not so affected; for the scripture says, "God spake unto him as a man speaketh unto his friend."

4thly, That Moses could prophesy at all times, when he would, which the other prophets could not*.

The first and third of these distinctions differ not at all from the רוּחַ הַקֹּדֶשׁ ruach hakkod-hesh; the second is certainly a mistake, for "the law was given by the disposition of angels by the hand of a mediator," namely, Moses (b); and the last is quite uncertain. We dismiss them all, therefore, as not worthy any further notice.

B b 4

As

(a) 1 Cor. xiv. 33.

* Vid. Maimon. de fundament. legis, cap. vii. §. vi. —ix. p. 96, —104.

(b) Gal. iii. 19.

As for the preference which the scripture gives to Moses above the other prophets: "There arose not a prophet since in Israel, like to Moses, whom the Lord knew face to face (a):" Le Clerc is for confining it to the time, which had elapsed since the death of Moses to the writing of the chapter in which this passage is contained; or we may possibly extend it to all the following ages of the Old Testament dispensation.

Moses was the greatest prophet, as God delivered his law by him to Israel; as he wrought more miracles than any of the rest (b); and perhaps also as he had greater intimacy with God, and had more of the divine will revealed to him, than was revealed to any other; which may be the meaning of "the Lord's knowing him face to face, or speaking to him face to face (c)." For in such a sense the phrase of seeing "face to face" is used in the following passage of the first epistle to the Corinthians, "Now we see through a glass darkly, but then face to face (d):" importing the clear and perfect knowledge of the heavenly state, in contradistinction, not only to the scanty knowledge of the Jewish state and dispensation, which is compared to seeing only the shadow of things; but also to the imperfect, though improved knowledge of the gospel state, which is compared to the seeing the image of a thing in a glass darkly.

3dly, Another way, in which secrets were revealed to the prophets, was by voices; as to the child Samuel (e). One would suppose, this should

(a) Deut. xxxiv. 10. (b) ver. 11, 12. (c) Exod. xxxiii. 11. (d) 1 Cor. xiii. 12. (e) 1 Sam. iii.

should be as excellent a manner, and as high a degree of revelation as any whatever; and indeed it seems to have been the true Gradus Mosaicus, or the manner of God's revealing the law to Moses; with whom, in the book of Exodus, he is said to have spoken face to face, as a man speaks to his friend (*a*); "and in the book of Numbers, mouth to mouth, even apparently." Which manner of revelation is at the same time preferred to that by dreams and visions (*b*). Nevertheless the Jewish doctors make this, which they call the **בַּת-קוֹל** bath-kol, filia vox seu filia vocis, to be the very lowest degree of prophecy, or rather to succeed in the room of prophecy. Rabbi Isaac, the author of the book Cozri, says, "There is a tradition, that the men of the great synagogue were commanded to be skilled in all sciences; principally because prophecy was never taken from them, or at least, that which supplied it's room; the **בַּת-קוֹל** bath kol *." Dr. Lightfoot says, that both the talmudical and later rabbies make frequent mention of **בַּת-קוֹל** bath kol, which served under the second temple as their utmost refuge of revelation. They call it **בַּת-קוֹל** bath kol, or the daughter of the voice, in relation to the oracle of Urim and Thummim; which, according to them, was delivered by an articulate voice from the mercy seat. But upon the cessation of that oracle, this came in its place, which is therefore called the daughter or successor of that voice. For an instance of the **בַּת-קוֹל** bath kol, the doctor gives us this, out of a multitude

(*a*) Exod. xxxiii. 11.

(*b*) See Numb. xii. 6.—8.

* Vid. lib. Cozri. part iii. §. xli. p. 216, 217. edit. Buxtorf. Basil. 1660.

multitude that are to be found in the talmudists: “When Jonathan, the son of Uzziel, had composed the targum of the prophets, there came **בַּת קוֹל** bath kol, and said, who hath revealed my secrets to the sons of men? And when he went about to explain the cherubbim, there came **בַּת קוֹל** bath kol, and said, it is enough*.

But if the **בַּת קוֹל** bath kol, was in reality, what the jewish writers pretend, a miraculous voice from God, the daughter should seem to be equal with the mother; and it is hard to say, on what account this sort of revelation was inferior to any other. Dr. Prideaux hath cleared up this difficulty, and from another instance in the talmud, hath shown, what sort of an oracle the **בַּת קוֹל** bath kol, was †. The passage which he quotes, out of many more instances as he says, of the same sort, is this: Rabbi Jochanan and rabbi Simeon Ben Lachish desiring to see the face of rabbi Samuel, a babylonish doctor; let us follow, said they, the hearing of **בַּת קוֹל** bath kol. Travelling therefore near a school, they heard the voice of a boy reading these words from the first book of Samuel, “And Samuel died (a).” Observing this, they inferred, that their friend Samuel was dead, and so they found it had happened; for Samuel of Babylon was then dead. This instance sufficiently shows us, that their **בַּת קוֹל** bath kol, was no such voice from heaven, as they pretended; but only a fantastical way of divination of mere human invention. They applied to **בַּת קוֹל** bath kol, the next words they accidentally heard from any body’s mouth; and

* See Lightfoot’s harmony on Matt. iii. 16.

† Connect. part ii. chap. ii. sub anno 1077.

(a) 1 Sam. xxv. 1.

and this they called a voice from heaven, because they fancied that hereby the judgment and decree of heaven were declared, concerning any future events, of which they desired to be pre-informed.

From this account of the **בַּת קוֹל** bath kol, we may judge, how absurd it is to imagine, as several divines have done, that St. Peter refers to it, and allows, according to the Jewish notion, the voice from heaven to be inferior to prophecy, in the following remarkable passage of his second epistle, which I will recite at large: "For we have not followed cunningly devised fables, when we made known unto you the power and coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, but were eye-witnesses of his majesty. For he received from God the father honour and glory, when there came such a voice to him from the excellent glory, This is my beloved son in whom I am well pleased. And this voice which came from heaven we heard when we were with him in the holy mount. We have also a more sure word of prophecy, whereunto ye do well, that ye take heed as unto a light that shineth in a dark place, &c." The voice that St. Peter here speaks of was quite different from the **בַּת קוֹל** bath kol, it was the voice of the same God, who spake by his spirit to the prophets; and none of them could be more sure of the divine inspiration by which they wrote their prophecies, than St. Peter and his two companions were, of what they heard and saw on the mount of Christ's transfiguration.

It is a question, however, on what account St. Peter styles the writings of the prophets a more sure word of prophecy, **βεβαιωτοτερον του προφητικου**
λογου,

λογον, than that voice from heaven. Some, as Gomarum and Grotius, refer the word βεβαιωτερον to that voice from heaven, by which the Old Testament prophecies concerning Christ were now made more sure, or had received an additional confirmation; for βεβαιω, in several places of the New Testament, signifies to confirm (a). Otherwise, it may be thus understood: The writings of the ancient prophets had been more confirmed by the actual accomplishment of a number of their own predictions, than the testimony of these three apostles, who declared they had heard the voice from heaven, had yet been; and therefore to other persons, they were βεβαιωτερος λογος, a word more fully confirmed, than this voice from heaven; especially to the Jews, who were firmly established in the belief of the divine inspiration of the Old Testament prophets; and to them the apostle is chiefly writing (a).

The sense, in which Dr. Sherlock understands this passage, seems to be the easiest and most natural; namely, that the only event, to which the word prophecy here refers, is “the power and coming of our Lord Jesus Christ;” that is, his second glorious appearance for the destruction of his enemies, and the salvation of his people. Now it was a strong presumption, that Christ would come in glory, that they had already seen him glorified on the mount of transfiguration; and it was a further evidence of his power to deliver his servants, that God had openly declared him to be his well beloved son; but to assure them, that he would so
come

(a) This appears from 2 Pet. iii. 1, 2, compared with 1 Pet. i. 1.

come, and so use his power, they had “ a more sure word of prophecy,” the very word of God, speaking by his prophets, both of the Old and the New Testament, to whom all futurity is known, to assure us of the certainty of this future event *.

It is possible, the Jews might learn their divination by *בַּת קוֹל* bath kol, from the Heathens, or the Heathens a like sort of divination from the Jews. For the bath kol was much of the same kind with the *Sortes Homericae*, and *Sortes Virgilianæ*, which were much practised by the Greeks and Romans, especially after their other oracles ceased on the coming of Christ. The difference was, the Jews took their oracle from the first words they heard any body pronounce; the heathens from the first they cast their eyes upon, on opening Homer or Virgil; in which they endeavoured to discover a meaning suitable to the matter concerning which they enquired †.

The

* See Sherlock's discourses on prophecy, disc. 1, especially p. 20,—23.

† Potter's antiquities, vol. I. chap. 15. p. 302.

Dr. Welwood in his memoirs tells this remarkable story of king Charles I. that being at Oxford during the civil wars, he went to see the publick library, where he was showed a fine edition of Virgil. And lord Falkland, to divert the king, would have him make trial of his fortune by the *Sortes Virgilianæ*. Upon which the king opened the book at Dido's imprecation against Æneas; where she wished he might be conquered by his enemies, his friends slain in battle, and himself come to an untimely death.

At bello audacis populi vexatus & armis,
Finibus extorris, complexu avulsus Jūli,
Auxilium imploret, videatque indigna fuorum
Funera: nec cum se sub leges pacis iniquæ

Tradiderit,

The Christians, when their religion came to be corrupted, adopted this trick of divination from the heathens, only using the bible instead of Homer or Virgil. The practice appears to have been as ancient as Austin, who lived in the fourth century. He mentions it in his hundred and ninth epistle to Januarius; and though he disallows it in secular, he seems to approve it in spiritual affairs. Dr. Prideaux says it obtained mostly in the west, especially in France, where for several ages it was the practice, on the consecration of a new bishop, to consult the bible concerning him, in this way of divination; by which they made a judgment of his life, and manners, and future behaviour; and this they made a part of their publick offices*.

We have many instances in history, of the use of these *Sortes Sanctorum*, as they were called; though they were condemned by the council

*Tradiderit, regno aut optatâ luce fruatur;
Sed cadat ante diem, mediâque inhumatus arenâ.
Hæc precor.* *Æneid. IV. l. 615,—622.*

The king seemed concerned at the augury. Upon which lord Falkland would try his fortune in the same manner; but the place he stumbled upon, was more suited to his destiny than the other was to the kings; being the expressions of Evander upon the untimely death of his son Pallas:

*Non hæc, o Palla, dederas promissa parenti,
Cautius ut sævo velles te credere Marti.
Haud ignarus eram, quantum nova gloria in armis
Et prædulce decus primo certamine posset.
Primitiæ juvenis miseræ, bellicque propinqui
Dura rudimenta!* *Æneid. XI. l. 152,—157.*

* Prideaux's *Connect.* part ii. book v. p. 463, 464. edit. 10. See also Du Fresne's *Glossar.* in voc. *Sortes Sanctorum.*

council of Agda anno 506. at the time they were beginning to take footing in France *. However, blind superstition prevailed above the decree of the council for several ages, till more light and knowledge springing up at the reformation, those fooleries which had so long obtained among Heathens, Jews and Christians, are now in a manner extinguished. Thus much for the third way of revelation, by voices.

As for the fourth, namely, by angels, there seems to be no reason to make it, as the Jews do, distinct from the three former; since Moses received the law, that was revealed to him, by the “ministry of angels (a).” Probably the visions, which the prophets saw, as well as the voices which they heard, were formed by angels (b). And how far their ministry might be employed in suggesting things more immediately to the minds of the prophets, who can pretend to determine. Thus much for the manner in which God revealed secrets to the prophets.

Godwin observes, that for the propagation of learning, colleges and schools were in divers places erected for the prophets: The first intimation we have in scripture of these schools is in a passage of the first book of Samuel, where we read of “a company of prophets coming down from the high place with a psaltery, a tabret, a pipe, and a harp before them and they did prophesy (c).” They are supposed to be the students in a college of prophets at גִּבְנָת gibnath, or “the hill, as we render it, of God.” Our translators elsewhere retain the same hebrew word, as supposing it to be the

* Canon 42. Du Pin's Eccles. Hist. Anno 506. vol. 6. p. 112. (a) Gal. iii. 19. (b) See Isa. vi. 3. Dan. viii. 16, 17. Rev. v. 2, &c. (c) 1 Sam. x. 5.

the proper name of a place (*a*):” “Jonathan smote the garrison of the Philistines, that was in Geba.” Some persons have imagined, that the ark, or at least a synagogue or some place of publick worship, was at this time at Geba, and that this is the reason of its being stiled in the former passage גבעת האלהים gibhnath haelohim, the hill of God. We read afterwards of such another company of prophets at Naioth in Ramah “prophefying, and Samuel standing as appointed over them (*b*).” Ramah, otherwise called Ramathaim-zophim, was Samuel’s birth-place, where his parents lived (*c*). Some imagine it was called צפנים Tsophim, from צפה tsaphah, speculatus est, because of the school of the prophets, or seers, that was there; for this title צפה tsopheh, is given to the prophet Ezekiel: “I have made thee a watchman, צפה tsopheh, to the house of Israel (*d*).”

The students in these colleges were called sons of the prophets, who are frequently mentioned in after ages, even in the most degenerate times. Thus we read of the sons of the prophets, that were at Bethel (*e*); and of another school at Jericho (*f*); and of the sons of the prophets at Gilgal (*g*). It should seem, that these sons of the prophets were very numerous; for of this sort were probably the prophets of the Lord whom Jezabel cut off; “but Obadiah took an hundred of them, and hid them by fifty in a cave (*b*).” In these schools young men were educated under a proper master, who
was

(*a*) 1 Sam. xiii. 3. (*b*) 1 Sam. xix. 19, 20.
 (*c*) 1 Sam. i. 1. compared with ver. 19. (*d*) Ezek. iii.
 17. (*e*) 2 Kings ii. 3. (*f*) ver. 5. (*g*) chap.
 iv. 38. (*b*) 1 Kings xviii. 4.

was commonly, if not always, an inspired prophet, in the knowledge of religion and in sacred musick (*a*), and were thereby qualified to be publick preachers, which seems to have been part of the business of the prophets on the sabbath days and festivals (*b*). It should seem, that God generally chose the prophets; whom he inspired, out of these schools. Amos, therefore, speaks of it as an extraordinary case, that though he was not one of the sons of the prophets, but an herdman; “yet the Lord took him as he followed the flock, and said unto him, go prophesy unto my people Israel (*c*).” That it was usual for some of these schools, or at least for their tutors, to be endued with a prophetick spirit, appears from the relation in the second book of Kings, of the prophecies concerning the ascent of Elijah, delivered to Elisha by the sons of the prophets both at Jericho and at Bethel (*d*). The houses, in which they lived, were generally mean, and of their own building (*e*). Their food was chiefly pottage of herbs (*f*), unless when the people sent them some better provision; as bread, parched corn, honey, dried fruits and the like (*g*). Their dress was plain and coarse, tied about with a leathern girdle (*h*). Riches were no temptation to them; therefore Elisha not only refused Naaman’s presents, but punished his servant Gehazi very severely for clandestinely obtaining a small share of them (*i*). This recluse and abstemious way of life, together with the meanness of their at-

VOL. I.

C c

tire,

(*a*) See 1 Sam. x. 5. and xix. 20. (b) 2 Kings iv. 23.
 (c) Amos vii. 14, 15. (d) 2 Kings ii. 3, 5.
 (e) 2 Kings vi. 2,—4. (f) 2 Kings iv. 38, 39.
 (g) 1 Kings xiv. 3. 2 Kings iv. 42. (h) Zech. xiii. 4;
 2 Kings i. 8. (i) 2 Kings v. 15, &c.

tire, gave them so strange an air, especially among the courtiers, that they looked upon them as no better then mad men (*a*). It was, perhaps, the uncouth dress and appearance of the prophet Elisha, which made the children at Bethel follow and mock him (*b*). The freedom, which the prophets used in reproving even princes for their evil deeds, frequently exposed them to persecution, imprisonment and sometimes to death, under the reigns of wicked kings, such as Ahab and Manasseh. Nevertheless in the main they were much respected, and treated with great reverence and regard, by the better and wiser sort of people, even those of the highest rank (*c*). This is all we certainly know of the prophets, and their schools*. As for the account which some have ventured to give, of their living in perpetual celibacy, poverty and the like, in the manner of the monks and friars among the papists, it is mere fancy and imagination; it being certain, that several of the prophets were married, and had children, particularly Samuel, Ezekiel, and Isaiah, whose wife is called a prophetess (*d*). And it was the widow of one of the sons of the prophets, whose oil Elisha miraculously multiplied (*e*). Huldah the prophetess dwelt in Jerusalem in the college (*f*), probably in the college of the sons of the prophets, her husband Shallum being it is likely one of the number. So much for the prophets.

Next

(*a*) 2 Kings ix. 11.

(*b*) 2 Kings ii. 23.

(*c*) 1 Kings xviii. 7. 2 Kings i. 13. and xiii. 14.

* Vid. Vitring de synag. vet. lib. 1. part. 2. cap. 6, 7.

(*d*) Isa. viii. 3.

(*e*) 2 Kings iv. 1.

(*f*) 2 Kings

Next to the prophets Godwin speaks of the wise men, חכמים chachamim, from חכם chacham, sapient; a title applied in general to such as were skilful in the law, and who taught and explained it to others. Dr Lightfoot, from the rabbies, speaks of a certain officer in the sanhedrim, who was called the חכם chacham, κατ' ἐξοχην. But in what his dignity and office consisted, is very uncertain *. What the wise men were in the scripture sense of that appellation, appears from hence, that those who in the twenty-third of St. Matthew are called σοφοί (a), in the parallel place in St. Luke are stiled αποστολοι (b), not meaning in particular those twelve disciples of Christ, who were ordained to be witnesses of his resurrection, and the first preachers of his gospel; for the apostles or wise men here spoken of, were such as in former ages had been killed by the Jews (c); and they are called αποστολοι, from αποσellaω, mitto, only as being sent from God. As it is afterwards expressed, “O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, thou that killest the prophets, and stonest, τας απεσταλμενους προς αυτην,” persons whom God hath sent (d).” The difference betwixt prophets and wise men, in those passages, is probably, that the former spoke, sometimes at least, by inspiration, and occasionally predicted things to come; the latter were uninspired preachers, well skilled in the scriptures, and sent of God by a providential mission, as ordinary ministers now are.

In the first epistle to the Corinthians the Apostle seems to speak of certain wise men with

C c 2

some

* See Horæ hebraicæ. in Luc. x. 25.

(a) Matt. xxiii. 34. (b) Luke xi. 49. (c) Matt.

xxiii. 35. (d) ver. 37.

some degree of contempt: "Where is the wife? where is the scribe? where is the disputer of this world? Hath not God made foolish the wisdom of this world (*a*)?" But perhaps he here refers, not to the Jewish חכמים Chachamim, but to the Gentile philosophers, who, as Godwin observes, affected to be called σοφοι, till Pythagoras introduced the more modest title φιλοσοφοι. There is no great reason to doubt, that this was his meaning, because the wisdom of the wise (*b*), of which he spoke just before, signifies the wisdom of the heathen world, by which, as he afterwards declares, they knew not God (*c*); which was true, not of the Jews, but only of the Gentiles; and these Grecian σοφοι were the persons, to whom the preaching of Christ crucified was foolishness (*d*). Again, when the same apostle says, that he is a debtor σοφοις τε και ανοητοις (*e*), he means the learned and unlearned, to the philosophers and common people.

It is further observed, that the title חכם chacham, with the Jews, and σοφος with the Gentiles, were given to such as were skilful in manual arts. Homer accounts such to be taught by Minerva, the goddess of wisdom.

Τεκτονος εν παλαμῃσι δαημονος, ος βα τε πασης
Ευ ειδη σοφῃς υποθημοσυννησιν Αθηνῃς.

Iliad. XV. l. 411.

And to this some think the apostle alludes, when he compares himself to a σοφος Αρχιτεκτων, a wise master builder (*f*).

Of

(*a*) 1 Cor. i. 20. (*b*) ver. 19. (*c*) ver. 21.
(*d*) ver. 23. (*e*) Rom. i. 14. (*f*) 1 Cor. iii. 10

Of the Scribes.

The Hebrew word ספר sopher, which we render scribe, is derived from the root ספר saphar, numeravit; from whence I suppose comes the english word cypher; or from the noun ספר sopher, enumeratio or liber, just as the latin librarius & libellarius are derived from liber. Accordingly the targum renders ספרי sophere, by לבלרין labhlarin (a); a word, which as well as many others in the chaldee and syriac tongues, is evidently of latin original. The septuagint renders ספר sopher, by γραμματεως, from γραμμα litera.

The scribes therefore, according to the etymological meaning of the term, were persons some way employed about books, writings, numbers or accounts, in transcribing, reading, explaining, &c. Now according to these various employments, there were several sorts of scribes. However, most authors reduce them to two general heads, or classes, civil and ecclesiastical scribes. As the word כהן cohèn, which in general signifies an immediate attendant on a king, is applied either to nobles in the courts of earthly princes, or to the priests who attended the service of God the king of Israel in his temple; so is the word scribe applied, both to those persons who were employed about any kind of civil writings or records, and to such as addicted themselves to studying, transcribing and explaining the holy scriptures. Of the civil scribes there were doubtless various

C c 3

ranks

(a) Est. iii. 12. chap. viii. 9.

ranks and degrees, from the common scrivener to the principal secretary of state; in which office we find Seraiah in the reign of king David, who is ranked with the chief officers of the kingdom (*a*); Shebna in the reign of Hezekiah (*b*); Shaphan in the reign of Josiah (*c*); Elishama in the reign of Jehoiakim, who is numbered among the princes (*d*). It is probable the next scribe in office to the principal secretary of state, was the secretary of war, called the “principal scribe of the host, who mustered the people of the land (*e*).” It is reasonably supposed this is the officer referred to in the following passage of Isaiah, “Where is the scribe? where is the receiver? where is he, that counteth the towers (*f*)?” Which both Grotius and Lowth understand to be spoken in a way of triumph over the king of Assyria, whose defeat the prophet had just before predicted; whereupon the Israelites should reflect with pleasure on the dangers they had escaped, and in a triumphant manner enquire, where is now the scribe, or muster master of the host, who threatened our destruction? where is the receiver, or collector of those oppressive taxes, that were imposed on us by the enemy? and where is he, that counted the towers? meaning it is likely, the chief engineer of the army, or master of the artillery and ammunition.

But besides these principal scribes or secretaries, we read of numbers of a lower order, as of the “families of the scribes which dwelt at Jabez (*g*),” and of the scribes, as well as the officers

(*a*) 2 Sam. viii. 17.
 (*c*) 2 Kings xxii. 3.
 (*e*) 2 Kings xxv. 19.
 (*g*) 1 Chron ii. 55.

(*b*) 2 Kings xviii. 18.
 (*d*) Jer. xxxvi. 12.
 (*f*) Isa. xxxiii. 18.

officers and porters, that were of the tribe of Levi (*a*). It is probable some of these were under secretaries and clerks to the principal scribes, like the scribes of king Ahasuerus before mentioned; others of them might be scribes, employed in drawing deeds, contracts, &c. or in writing letters, and any other business of penmanship; like Baruch the scribe, who wrote Jeremiah's prophecy from his mouth (*b*), and who had probably been before employed by Jeremiah to draw the deed of the purchase of the field, which he bought of his uncle's son (*c*). Such scribes are referred to in the forty-fifth Psalm, "My tongue is as the pen of a ready scribe (*d*)."

It is not unlikely, that others of these inferior scribes might be schoolmasters, who, as the Jewish doctors tell us, were chiefly of the tribe of Simeon; and that Jacob's prophetick curse upon this tribe, "that they should be divided in Jacob, and scattered in Israel *," was hereby accomplished. However, we have no evidence of this in scripture; which gives us another clear account of the fulfillment of that prophecy, first, by an inheritance being assigned that tribe, upon the original division of the land of Canaan, within the inheritance of the children of Judah (*e*); and afterward when that tribe was increased in Hezekiah's time, by their being obliged to seek out new settlements

C c 4

for

(*a*) 2 Chron. xxxiv. 13.(*b*) Jer. xxxvi. 4, and 32.(*c*) Jer. xxxii. 12,—14.(*d*) Psal. xlv. 1.

* Gen. xlix. 7. See the Jerusalem Targum in loc. R. Solomon, as quoted by Christoph. Cartwright, (elect. targumico-rabbin. in loc.) saith, Non sunt tibi pauperes scribæ, & pædagogi, nisi ex Simeone, ut essent dispersi,

(*e*) Josh. xix. 1.

for a part of it at Gedor, and at Mount-Seir(*a*).
We come now to treat,

2dly, Of the ecclesiastical scribes, who are frequently mentioned in the New Testament. According to Lightfoot, these were the learned of the nation, who expounded the law, and taught it to the people *; and they are, therefore, sometimes called νομοδιδασκαλοι, “Doctors of the law;” for those who, in the fifth chapter of St. Luke, are stiled pharisees and doctors of the law (*b*), are soon afterwards called pharisees and scribes (*c*). And that the νομικοι, so often mentioned in the New Testament, and rendered lawyers, were no other than scribes, appears from hence, that he, who in the twenty second of St. Matthew (*d*), is called νομικος, a lawyer, is said in the twelfth of St. Mark to be εις των γραμματεων one of the scribes (*e*). Nevertheless, Drusius †, Trigland ‡, Camero §, and some others conceive there must have been some distinction betwixt the scribes and the lawyers; because when our Saviour had reproached the scribes and pharisees with their hypocrisy (*f*), it is added, that “one of the lawyers answered, and said unto him, master, thus saying thou reproachest us also.” However the elder Spanheim imagines, that this passage rather proves the lawyers and the scribes
to

(*a*) 1 Chron. iv. 39, & seq.

* Horæ Hebr. Luc. x. 25.

(*b*) Luke v. 17. (c) ver. 21. (d) Matt. xxii. 35.

(e) Mark xii. 28.

† Drusius de tribus sectis Judæor. lib. ii. cap. xiii. edit. Trigland. tom. i. p. 249.

‡ Triglandii Diatribe de sectâ Karæor. cap. vi. p. 58, & seq.

§ Camer. annot. in Matt. xxii. 35. apud Criticos sacros,

(f) Luke xi. 44.

to have been the same, than the contrary; for he observes, that our Saviour having, in his preceding discourse (*a*), only reproached the pharisees, and denounced woes upon them, at length (*b*) joins the scribes with them: "Woe unto you scribes and pharisees, hypocrites, &c." Immediately upon which the lawyer takes fire, and resents his reproaching them also, them as well as the pharisees. From whence it appears, the lawyers, otherwise called scribes, were the persons here intended. Accordingly the Syriak version (*c*) renders *σοφιστας*, ספֿרה sopher, scribe*.

That scribe was a general name or title of all who studied, and were teachers of the law and of religion at the time of writing the targum, appears from its calling the prophets several times, scribes; as in the first book of Samuel it is said concerning Saul, that "a company of scribes met him; and they saw that he was prophesying among the scribes:" and they said, "is Saul also among the scribes (*d*)?" Again in the prophecy of Isaiah, "The scribe that teacheth lies, he is the tail (*e*)."

Scribe then is not the name of a sect, as Godwin seems to imagine, but as Casaubon† shews, of an office; nor is it true what the former saith, that the scribes cleaving to the written word, more than the pharisees, who adhered to the traditions, were from thence called textmen. He confounds the scribes with the Karaites,

(*a*) ver. 39, & seq. (*b*) ver. 44. (*c*) Luke xi. 45.

* Vid. Spanhem. Dubia Evangel. part. ii. Dub. xxxviii, xxxix, xl. §. vii. p. 398, 399. edit. Genev. 1658.

(*d*) 1 Sam. x. 10, 11. (*e*) Isa. ix. 15.

† Casaubon. Exercitat. in Baron. annal. exerc. 1. appa. rat. viii. p. 52, 53. edit. Genev. 1655.

Karaites, a sect that adhered to the written scriptures and rejected all traditions. The scribes for the most part were pharisees, the most popular and flourishing sect among the Jews, and they are therefore censured by our Saviour along with them, for burthening the people with their traditionary precepts (*a*). There is mention indeed in the Acts, of the “scribes that were of the pharisees part (*b*)” in the contention between them and the sadducees, as if they were some other sect, distinct from the pharisees, who joined them on this occasion. But *οι γραμματεῖς τῶν μερῶν τῶν φαρισαίων* may be rendered, agreeable to the Syriack version, the scribes who were of the pharisees party or sect; and who, being the more learned persons of the party, undertook to dispute against the sadducees.

Upon the whole, the scribes were the preaching clergy among the Jews, and whilst the priests attended the sacrifices, they instructed the people. It was on account of their supposed skill in the scriptures, that, when Herod was anxious to know, where, according to the prophecies, the Messiah should be born, he “gathered all the chief priests and scribes of the people together,” to obtain information (*c*).

Joseph Scaliger endeavours to establish a distinction betwixt the *γραμματεῖς τῶν λαῶν*, the scribes of the people, as they are here called, and the *γραμματεῖς τῶν νόμων* the scribes of the law. The former he makes to be a sort of publick notaries, whose employment was in secular business, the latter, preachers and expounders of the

(*a*) Matt. xxiii. 2, 4. (*b*) Acts xxiii 9. (*c*) Matt.
 ii. 4.

the law *. But besides that we no where meet, in scripture, with the phrase γραμματεῖς το νόμου, the scribes of the law, it is evident, that the γραμματεῖς το λαοῦ, the scribes of the people, whom Herod consulted, were applied to on account of their skill in explaining scripture prophecies. And they seem to have been in considerable reputation for their skill in this respect, which is intimated in the question that the disciples put to Christ, “Why then say the scribes, that Elias must first come (a)?” They were probably called scribes of the people, because they were their stated and ordinary teachers. And their being in virtue of their office publick speakers, is the reason, I suppose, that the officers, שוטרִים shoterim, mentioned in the book of Deuteronomy, who were to speak to the people (b), are in the Samaritan version stiled ספרִים sopherim, and in the septuagint, γραμματεῖς, or scribes. That they were, generally at least, publick preachers, may be inferred from its being said, that Christ “taught as one having authority, and not as the scribes (c).” This assertion gives occasion to Dr. Lightfoot to observe three heads of difference betwixt the teaching of the scribes and that of Christ:

1st, They taught chiefly the traditions of the fathers; our Saviour the sound and self-grounded word of God. And when he bad his disciples call no man father upon earth, he meant it in opposition to the vain traditions which the scribes

* Scaliger. Elench. Trihæres. cap. xi. p. 404. edit. Trigland.

(a) Matt. xvii. 10. (b) Deut. xx. 5, 9. (c) Mark. i. 22.

scribes taught, namely, the traditions of the fathers.

2dly, The teaching of the scribes was especially about external, carnal and trivial rites; as that they should wash their hands before eating, and the like (*a*); whereas Christ taught the spiritual and weighty doctrines of faith, repentance, renovation, charity, &c.

3dly, The teaching of the scribes was litigious: they toiled in intricate and endless disputes, and were therefore probably the preachers to whom the apostle refers in the sixth chapter of the first epistle to Timothy, whom he describes as conceited and ignorant, doting about questions and strife of words, from whence proceed envy, strife, railings, evil surmisings, perverse disputings of men of corrupt minds, &c. (*b*). whereas our Saviour's preaching was plain and convincing*.

We have a further intimation, concerning the manner of their teaching in our Saviour's time in the eleventh chapter of St. Luke (*c*), where, instead of leading the people into an acquaintance with true religion, they are charged with taking away the key of knowledge, by leading them off from attending to the scriptures, by insisting so much on traditions, and especially by the false interpretations of the prophecies relating to the Messiah, whereby the people were kept from believing on him now he was actually come.

Camero observes, that a key was delivered to each scribe, as a badge of his office, when he

(*a*) Matt. xv. 1, 2.

(*b*) 1 Tim. vi. 3,—5.

* Harmony on Mark i. 22.

(*c*) Luke xi. 52.

he first entered upon it; to which perhaps our Saviour here alludes*.

Spanheim further remarks†, that what is here charged upon the lawyers, is elsewhere charged upon the scribes (*a*): which is a further evidence, that the lawyers and the scribes were the same. Nevertheless he is ready to admit, that the lawyers might be a superior sort of scribes; yet all the scribes might not be lawyers.

That there were different ranks and degrees of these scribes is inferred from the sixth chapter of the second book of Maccabees (*b*), where Eleazar is said to be *τις των πρωτευοντων γραμματειων*, “one of the principal scribes.” Such a one was Gamaliel (*c*). Josephus also speaks of *ιερογραμματις*, sacred scribes‡, who judged of the signs which portended the destruction of Jerusalem; they were probably of superior dignity, and as their name seems to import, priests as well as scribes.

However, notwithstanding the corrupt doctrine and instructions which the scribes delivered in their publick teaching, they are said to sit in Moses’s seat, and our Saviour charges his disciples to observe and do whatever they bid them do (*d*). By Moses’s seat Dr. Lightfoot understands the seat of judicature, as they were members of the sanhedrim §; but the advice which Christ gives to observe and do what they directed

* Camer. in Luc. xi. 52. apud Criticos Sacros.

† Spanhem. ubi supra.

(*a*) Matt. xxiii. 13. (*b*) 2 Macc. vi. 18. (*c*) Acts

v. 34.

‡ Joseph. de bell. Judaic. lib. vi. cap. v. §. 3. p. 388. edit. Haverc.

(*d*) Matt. xxiii. 2, 3.

§ Lightfoot. Horæ hebr. in loc.

directed or commanded, or to follow their good instructions in opposition to their bad example (*a*), evidently refers to their teaching, rather than to their judging. It is therefore a more probable conjecture, that Moses's seat here means the chair or pulpit, out of which the scribes, in the synagogues, used to deliver their discourses sitting, as the custom then was (*b*); though we read, that in former times Ezra stood upon a pulpit of wood, when he read and explained the law to the people (*c*). It was called the chair or seat of Moses, probably because the books of Moses were read and explained from it. Now as for our Saviour's charging his disciples to do and observe whatsoever these corrupt preachers bid them, it must certainly be understood only so far as they sat in the chair of Moses, or delivered the dictates of the law; for if he had required of his disciples an absolute submission to their dictates, he would in effect have forbid their believing in himself, whom the scribes rejected.

Though the pharisees are continually joined with the scribes, particularly in the passage we have been just considering, where "the scribes and the pharisees are said to sit in Moses's seat;" we have, however, no reason to think any of the pharisees were publick preachers by office, except those who were scribes. But the true account of this phrase, scribes and pharisees, is, I apprehend, either that it means scribes who were pharisees or pharisaical scribes, the scribes being generally of that sect; or else it might be common for those pharisees, who were
not

(*a*) ver. 3.
viii. 4.

(*b*) Matt. v. 1, 2.

(*c*) Nehem.

not scribes, to teach the people occasionally though they were in no ecclesiastical office ; as other laymen were allowed to do. Thus Christ, who was certainly in no ecclesiastical office among the Jews, “ went about Galilee teaching in their synagogues (*a*) ;” and Paul, with the leave of the ruler, preached in the synagogue at Antioch (*b*). But this we shall have occasion to consider more particularly, when we treat concerning the synagogues.

The scribes appear to have been men of great power and authority in the state (*c*). For it is predicted of them, and of the chief priests, that they should condemn our Saviour to death. But, I do not apprehend, that this was in virtue of their office as scribes, but partly by reason of their influence as publick preachers, and partly, as many of them were members of the sanhedrim, which was then the supreme court of judicature.

As for the origin of this office, some make it to be as ancient as Ezra, who is said to be a ready scribe in the law of Moses (*d*). But his being called a scribe, which was a general title given to men of literature, as has been shown before, will not prove the office of ecclesiastical scribes, such as we find in our Saviour’s time, to have been of so high antiquity. It is most likely, that it grew up by degrees, after the spirit of prophecy ceased from among the Jews ; for when they had no prophet to apply to in any doubt about doctrine or worship, they fell into disputes, and split into sects and parties ; which made a set of men necessary, whose proper

(*a*) Matt. iv. 23.

(*b*) Acts xiii. 15, 16.

(*c*) Matt. xx. 18.

(*d*) Ezra vii. 6.

per business it should be to apply themselves to the study of the law, in order to explain and teach it to the people *.

Of the Masorites.

Before we dismiss the scribes, it will be proper to say something of the Masorets, or Masorites, who were a lower sort of scribes. Their profession was to write out copies of the hebrew scriptures; to teach the true reading of them; and criticise upon them. Their work is called Masora, from מסר masar, tradidit, because, say the Jews, when God gave the law to Moses at mount Sinai, he taught him first, the true reading of it, and secondly, its true interpretation; and that both these were handed down by oral tradition from generation to generation, till at length they were committed to writing †. The former of these, namely, the true reading, is the subject of the Masora; the latter, or true interpretation, of the Mishna and Gemara,

* See on this subject, Spanhem. *Dubia Evang.* part. ii. *Dub.* xxxviii,—xl. p. 392,—405. *Leusden. Philolog. hebræo-mixt. Dissert.* xxiii.

† *Mishn. tit. Pirke Abhoth*, cap. i. & *Maimon. in præfat. ad Jad Chazakah*: *Præcepta, que Mosi tradita sunt in Sinai, ea omnia data sunt cum expositione suâ, juxta illud Exod. xxiv. 12. "Et dabo tibi tabulas lapideas, & legem, & mandatum, &c."* legem sc. scriptam; & mandatum, id est, expositionem ejus. See the passage at large in *De Voisin's observat. ad Pugionem fidei.* p. 9. *Elias Levita* asserts, that the Masora was handed down in like manner from Moses, till it was reduced to writing, as he saith, by the doctors of the school of Tiberias. *Elias Levita in præf. lib. iii. Masoreth hamasoreth.* See also the book *Cozri*, p. 199. edit. *Buxtorf.* 1660.

Gemara; which we shall give you an account of in another place.

The age when the Masorites first rose, is somewhat doubtful. Archbishop Usher places them before Jerom; Capel, at the end of the fifth century*. Father Morin asserts the Masorites did not appear till the tenth century. Elias Levita, a Jew, who bestowed twenty years labour on explaining the Masora, makes the first compilers of it to be Jews of the famous school of Tiberias, about five hundred years after Christ†; Basnage says, that we seek in vain for the time of the Masorites; since they were not a society, nor even a succession of men, who applied themselves to this study for a certain number of years, and afterwards disappeared; but the Masora is the work of a great number of grammarians, who without associating and communicating their notions, composed this collection of criticisms on the hebrew text‡. However, if, according to Elias Levita, the school of Tiberias first gathered them into one volume, and so properly begun the work which is now called the Masora, of which there is both a greater and a less printed at Venice and at Basil; it hath nevertheless been enlarged since the time of that school; for there were Masorites long afterwards, even as late as about A. D. 1030; particularly, Ben-Asher, and Ben-Naphtali, who were very famous

Vol. I.

D d

mous]

* Capelli Critic. sacr. lib. vi. cap. iv. p. 391.

† Elias Levita ubi supra.

‡ Basnage in his history of the Jews, book iii. chap. ix. §. vii. p. 182. mentions the opinions of Usher and Morin, as well as of Capel and Levita, but endeavours to prove, § ix. that Ben-Asher and Ben-Naphtali, about the year 1030, were the true inventors of the Masora.

mous, and the last of the profession. Each of these published a copy of the whole hebrew text, as correct, saith Dr. Prideaux, as they could make it. The eastern Jews have followed that of Ben-Naphtali, and the western that of Ben-Asher; and all that has been done since, is to copy after them, without making any more corrections, or masoretical criticisms*.

Their work regards merely the letter of the hebrew text; in which they have, first, fixed the true reading by vowels and accents; though whether these points were originally annexed to the hebrew letters by them is a matter of dispute, which we shall consider in another place.

They have, secondly, numbered not only the chapters and sections, but the verses, words and letters of the text. They find, accordingly, in the Pentateuch 5245 verses, and in the whole bible 23206. Some indeed have doubted, whether they carried their diligence so far as to number the letters. But father Simon attests that he had seen a MS. Masora, which numbered in the book of Genesis 12 great sections, 43 sedarim or orders, 1534 verses, 20713 words, and 78100 letters†. The Masora is therefore called by the Jews, the hedge or fence of the law; in as much as this numbering the verses, words and letters is a means of preserving it from being altered and corrupted. Thus it is said in the mishna, that tythes are the fences

* Prideaux's Connect. part. i. book v. vol 2. p. 516. edit. 10.

† Vid. Simon. hist. critic. vet. Test. lib. i. cap. xxvi. p. 128. Paris 1681.

fences of riches, vows are the fences of sanctity; silence is the fence of wisdom, and the Masora is the fence of the law*. Hence also Aben-Ezra calls the Masorites the keepers of the walls of the holy city †.

They have, thirdly, marked whatever irregularities are found in any of the letters of the hebrew text; as, that in some words one letter is of a larger (*a*), in others, of a less (*b*), size, than the rest. Of the former sort they discover thirty-one instances; of the latter, thirty-three. They observe four words in which one letter is suspended, or placed somewhat higher than the rest (*c*); nine places, in which the letter nun is inverted (*d*); and several places, where the final letters are not used at the end of words; and others, where they are used in the middle.

They are likewise very fruitful in finding out reasons for these irregularities, and mysteries in them. Thus the great Vau in the word גִּזְרֹן gachon, in the forty second verse of the eleventh chapter of Leviticus, is, to signify, that it is just the middle of the Pentateuch. The last letter both of the first and last word of this sentence in the sixth chapter of Deuteronomy (*e*), “Hear, O Israel, the Lord thy God is one Lord,” is of an extraordinary size, in order to denote the extraordinary weight of that sentence, and the peculiar attention it deserves. The Caph

D d 2

in

* Pirke Abhoth, cap. 3. §. 13. tom. 4. p. 442. edit. Surenhus.

† Aben-Ezra quoted by Carpzovius, Critic. Sac. part. i. cap. vi. p. 288. Lipsiæ, 1728.

(a) Vid. Deut. vi. 4.

(b) Vid. Gen. ii. 4.

(c) Vid. Judg. xviii. 30.

(d) Vid. Numb. x. 35.

(e) Deut. vi. 4.

in the word לִבְכֹּתָהּ libhchothah in the second verse of the twenty-third chapter of Genesis, where Abraham is said to weep for Sarah, is of a lesser size, to signify the moderation of his mourning, she being an old woman.

They are fourthly, supposed to be the authors of the Keri and Chethibh, or the marginal corrections of the text in our hebrew bibles; among which they have noted transpositions of letters in some words, as יְבוּחַר jebuchar, for יְחֻבָּר jechubar, in the ninth chapter of ecclesiastes and the fourth verse; and one word put for another, as וּבְנֵי ubenè, for וּבֵן uben, in the forty-sixth chapter of Genesis and the twenty-third verse. But we shall have occasion to take further notice of the Keri and Chethibh, when we come to treat of the hebrew language.

From this short specimen of the works of the Masorites, you will probably conceive a higher opinion of their industry and diligence, than of their judgment. As for the irregularities in the letters, upon which they have commented, it being reasonable to suppose that these happened at first by meer accident in transcribing, they would have discovered more good sense, if they had corrected them, than in devising reasons for them, and assigning mystical interpretations to them.

Dr. Prideaux saith, those, who were the authors of the Masora now extant, were a monstrous trifling set of men, whose criticisms and observations went no higher than numbering the verses, words and letters of every book in the hebrew bible, marking which was the middle word, verse or letter in each of them, and making of such other poor and low remarks concerning them, as are not worth reading

ing or regarding, whatever Richard Simon the Frenchman may say to the contrary *.

The דרשנים *durshanim*, whom Godwin supposes to be intended by the disputers of this world mentioned in the first chapter of the first epistle to the Corinthians (*a*), were likewise a sort of scribes or doctors of the law. There was a threefold exposition of the law in vogue among the Jews, in their later and corrupt ages; the first, a literal explication of the written law, which they called מִקְרָא *mikra*, the second, consisting of the tradition of the fathers, stiled the מִשְׁנָה *mishna*, with a comment upon them stiled the גְּמָרָה *gemara*, both together called the *talmud*; the third, a mystic and allegorical exposition of the scriptures, called מִדְרָשׁ *midrash*, or commentary κατ' ἐξοχὴν †. The apostle's allegory of Sara and Hagar with their sons by which he illustrates the two covenants, in the epistle to the Galatians (*b*), is somewhat in this stile, and was therefore admirably suited to the taste of the persons, whom he is there addressing.

The cabalists likewise were a sort of mystical doctors, who discovered a world of mystery in the letters of the sacred text, either by considering their numeral power, or by changing and transposing them, in different ways according to the rules of their art. By these means they extracted senses from the sacred oracles,

D d 3

very

* See Prideaux's connect. part. i. book v. sub anno 446. For a larger account of the Masorites and their works, consult, besides the author's already quoted, Buxtorfii Tiberias, Carpzovii Critica sacra, part i. cap. vi. and Walton. prolegom. viii. ad Bibl. Polyglot.

(*a*) 1 Cor. i. 20.

† Vid. Lightfoot. Hor. hebraic. in Luc. x. 25.

(*b*) Gal. iy.

very different from those which the expression seemed naturally to import, or which were ever intended by the authors *.

We have before offered some reasons for believing that by the σοφοι, mentioned in the first chapter of the first epistle to the Corinthians *a*), are meant gentile philosophers, and not, as Godwin seems to imagine, jewish teachers of traditions. Whether the disputer of this world, συζητητης του αιωνος τουτου, referred to the jewish allegorical doctors, or the gentile natural philosophers, as distinguished from the moral philosophers, called σοφοι, is differently conjectured by the learned, but very hard to be determined with certainty.

* A large account of the cabalistic art, as practised not only by Jews, but by Heathens and Christians, may be seen in Basnage's history of the Jews, book iii. chap. x, —xxviii.

(*a*) 1 Cor. i. 20.





C H A P. VII.

Of the title R A B B I.

TH E title rabbi, with several others from the same root רַבב rabhabh, magnus est, vel, multiplicatus est, began first to be assumed, according to Godwin, as a distinguishing title of honour by men of learning, about the time of the birth of Christ. We find it anciently given, indeed, to several magistrates and officers of state. In the book of Esther it is said, the king appointed כל־רב ביתו col rab betho, which we render “all the officers of his house (a).” In Jeremiah we read of the רַב־הַמֶּלֶךְ rabbè hammelek, “the princes of the king (b).” In the book of Job it is said that the רַבִּים rabbim, which we render “great-men, are not always wise (c);” a rendering, which I apprehend, well expresses the original meaning of the word. It was not therefore in those days properly a title of honour, belonging to any particular office or dignity in church or state; but all, who were of superior rank and condition in life, were called רַבִּים rabbim. We do not find the prophets, or other

D d 4

men

(a) Esth. i. 8.
eng. 10. heb.

(b) Jer. xli. 1.

(c) Job xxxii. 9.

men of learning in the Old Testament, affecting any title beside that which denoted their office; and they were contented to be addressed by their bare names. But as religion and true knowledge declined among them, their pride discovered itself in affectation of titles of honour. Thus in the first ages of the christian church, during the prevalence of truth, and of piety and humility, the ministers of Christ had no other titles, but the mere names of their office, apostles, pastors, &c. whereas in the later, corrupt ages of ignorance and pride a number of titles of honour were invented, to support their dignity, and conciliate the respect and reverence of the people; as masters, doctors, &c.

The first jewish rabbi, said to have been distinguished with any title of honour, was Simeon, the son of Hillel, who succeeded his father as president of the Sanhedrim; and his title was that of Rabban*. He is supposed by Altingius to have been the Simeon, who took the infant Jesus in his arms, and blessed him (a); and for this reason, as he conceives, he is seldom mentioned by the later rabbies, though he was a man of such honour and dignity, and the first who was distinguished by their favourite title†. Others think it hardly probable, that the Simeon, who was directed by the Holy Ghost to pay that respect to our Saviour, was the president of the Sanhedrim; for Gamaliel, the president's Son was tutor to St. Paul, who received no favourable notion of christianity from him, as in all probability he must have done from the son of that Simeon who took our Saviour

* Lightfoot's Harmony on Luke ii. 25.

(a) Luke ii. 25.

† Alting. de Schilo, lib. iv. 21.

tom. v. oper. p. 99. Lightfoot ubi supra, and Horæ hebr, Luke ii. 25;

viour in his arms and blessed him. Besides, had he, who did this, been president of the great council, St. Luke, in all likelihood would have taken notice of so extraordinary a circumstance, instead of mentioning him only as “a certain man in Jerusalem, whose name was Simeon *.”

The later rabbies tell us, this title was conferred with a good deal of ceremony. When a person had gone through the schools, and was though worthy of the degree of rabbi, he was first placed in a chair somewhat raised above the company; then were delivered to him a key and a table-book; the key, as a symbol of the power or authority now conferred upon him, to teach that knowledge to others, which he had learned himself. And this key he afterwards wore as a badge of his honour; and when he died, it was buried with him. The table-book was a symbol of his diligence in his studies, and of his endeavouring to make further improvements in learning.

The third ceremony in the creation of a rabbi, was the imposition of hands on him by the delegates of the Sanhedrim, practised in imitation of Moses's † ordaining Joshua by this rite, to succeed him in his office (a). And then

Fourthly, they proclaimed his title ‡.

According to Maimonides, the third ceremony was not looked upon to be essential; but was sometimes omitted. They did not always, saith he, lay their hands on the head of the elder

* See Witfii Miscell. tom. i. lib. 1. cap. xxi. §. xiii.—xvi. p. 289,—292. edit. Traject. 1692.

† Maimon. tractat. Sanhedrin, cap. 4. Vid. Selden de Synedr. lib. i. cap. xiv. oper. vol. 1. tom. 2. p. 1088, 1089.

(a) Numb. xxvii. 18. Deut. xxxiv. 9.

‡ See on the creation of a rabbi Alting. in oratione de promot. hebr.

elder to be ordained; but called him rabbi, and said, Behold thou art ordained, and hast power, &c. *.

We find this title given to John the baptist (*a*); and frequently to our blessed Saviour; as by John's disciples (*b*), by Nicodemus (*c*), and by the people that followed him (*d*).

It has been made a question, whether our Lord had taken the degree and title of rabbi in the jewish schools. Vitringa maintains the affirmative †, alledging, that he was called so by Judas (*e*), who he supposes would not have complemented him with a title, to which he had no right. It may be replied, that this being before Judas discovered his treason and while he associated with the disciples, he no doubt affected to speak as respectfully to Christ, as any of the rest.

Vitringa insists upon another argument, to prove that Christ must have taken the degree of rabbi; alledging, that otherwise he could not have preached publicly in the temple and in the synagogues, as we know he did. But this is built on a mistake in fact. Any Israelite might preach publicly in the temple, or in the synagogue by the permission of the ruler of it, as we observed in a former lecture ‡.

Mr. Selden takes the other side of the question §, denying, that Christ had ever taken this degree. And for this opinion several arguments may be alledged. 1st,

* Maimon. Sanhedr. cap. 4. See Selden ubi supra, and Lightfoot's Hor. hebr. Acts xiii. 3.

(*a*) John iii. 26. (*b*) John i. 38. (*c*) John iii. 2. (*d*) John vi. 25.

† Vitring. de synag. vetere, vol. 2. lib. 3. part 1. cap. 7. p. 706, 707. (*e*) Matt. xxvi. 25. ‡ See

above, p. 399. § Selden de Synedr. Hebræor. lib. ii. cap. vii. § viii. oper. vol. 1. tom. 2. p. 1373.

1st, It appears, that he had had no education in the rabbinical schools, as those who were honoured with this degree must have had (a).

2dly, He expresses his disapprobation of the title, and charges his disciples not to assume it (b); "Be not ye called rabbi, &c." Which as Mr. Selden shews, was a prohibition of their taking that degree; but was not intended absolutely to condemn the use of the title as a mark of civility, to those publick teachers, who might not in form have taken the degree; a practice, at that time, common among the Jews, as giving the title of doctor to the minister of the parish, whether he hath taken the degree or not, is now among us*.

The reason of our Lord's forbidding his disciples to be called, or to affect the title of rabbi, was doubtless,

1st, To caution them against that pride and haughtiness which generally went along with it. For, though the rabbies pretended to slight the honour, and it was a maxim with them, "Love the work and not the title †;" it is certain nevertheless, they were excessively proud and vain of it, insomuch that they were highly offended, if any person spoke to them without giving it to them; a remarkable instance of which Wagenfeil relates ‡: "A certain rabbi sent a letter to another, and forgot to give him his

(a) John vii. 15. (b) Matt. xxiii. 7, 8.

* Selden de Synedr. lib. ii. cap. vii. §. x. oper. vol. i. tom. 2. p. 1378,—1383.

† See Maimonides, as quoted by Lightfoot, Hor. hebraic. Matt. xxiii. 7. and Pirke abhoth, lib. i. cap. 10. et Ob. de Bartenora in loc.

‡ Wagenfeil in Sota, Annot. 5. in cap. i. §. x. except. Gemaræ. p. 109.

his title; but only called him in plain terms, friend. At which he was so highly incensed, that he immediately sent a messenger to that rabbi, charging him to call him Anan, Anan, (which was his name,) without giving him the title rabbi." This it seems, was the keenest revenge he could take on him for so gross an affront. And Dr. Lightfoot tells us, from one of their rabbinical books, that the Sanhedrim excommunicated certain persons twenty-four times for not giving due honour to the rabbies *.

2dly, the design of our Saviour's forbidding his disciples to be called rabbi, was probably also, that they might not take upon them to lord it over the faith and consciences of men, as the rabbies did, who pretended to little less than to be infallible guides of faith and conscience; insomuch that it was looked upon as a crime for any person not to hearken to the rabbies, or to disbelieve or doubt of the truth of what they taught. Hence Gamaliel advises the ignorant among the Jews "to get themselves rabbies, that they may no longer doubt of any thing †;" and rabbi Eleazar says, "he that separates from the school of the rabbies, or teaches any thing which he has not heard from his master, provokes the divine Majesty to depart from Israel ‡."

Maimonides tell us, that men of the degree of rabbi were also called Abba, or father; and that "he, who will be holy, must perform the words

* Hora hebraic. Matt. xxiii. 7. † Pirke Abhoth, cap. 1. § 16. which precept Maimonides and Bartenora (in loc.) restrain to ritual observances.

‡ Talmud Babylon. tit. Berachoth, fol. 23, 2. See Lightfoot, Horæ hebr. Matt. xxiii. 7.

words of the fathers *." Hence our Saviour forbids his disciples taking the title of father as well as rabbi (a).

These are the teachers and guides to whom the postle seems to refer, when he saith, (b) "Behold thou art called a Jew, and retest in the law, and makest thy boast of God, and knowest his will, and approvest the things that are more excellent, being instructed out of the law, and art confident that thou thyself art a guide of the blind, a light of them which are in darkness, an instructor of the foolish, a teacher of babes which hast the form of knowledge, and of truth in the law †."

The reason of our Saviour's prohibiting his disciples to be called rabbi is expressed in these words, "Be not ye called rabbi, for one is your master, even Christ," *καθ' ἑνός*, your guide and conductor, on whose word and instructions alone you are to depend in matters of religion and salvation. Accordingly the inspired apostles pretend to nothing more than, as the ambassadors of Christ, to deliver his instructions; and for their own part, they expressly disclaim all dominion over the faith and consciences of men (c).

The jewish writers distinguish betwixt the titles Rab, Rabbi and Rabban. As for Rab and Rabbi, the only difference betwixt them is, that Rab was the title of such as had had their education, and taken their degree, in some foreign jewish school; suppose at Babylon, where there

was

* Maimon in Præfat. Tractat. Pirke Abboth, Mishn. tom. 4. p. 393.

(a) Matt. xxiii. 8, 9. (b) Rom. ii. 17,—20.

† See Whitby on Matt. xxiii. 8, 9.

(c) See 2 Cor. v. 20. chap. i. 24.

was a school or academy of considerable note: Rabbi was the title of such as were educated in the land of Judea, who were accounted more honourable than the others *. But as for Rabban, it was the highest title; which, they say, was never conferred on more than seven persons, namely, on R. Simeon, five of his descendants, and on R. Jochanan, who was of a different family †. It was on this account, it should seem, that the blind man gave this title to Christ (a); being convinced that he was possessed of divine power, and worthy of the most honourable distinctions. And Mary Magdalene, when she saw Christ after his resurrection, “said unto him Rabboni (b),” that is, my Rabban, like my lord in english; for rabbon is the same with rabban, only pronounced according to the Syriac dialect.

* Elias Levita in Tishbhi, voce רַבִּי.

† See Lightfoot's Harmony on Luke ii. 25.

(a) Mark x. 51.

(b) John xx. 16.





C H A P. VIII.

Of the Nazarites and Rechabites.

GODWIN makes a threefold distinction of Nazarites, which we shall find to be merely a *distinctio nominis*, as the logicians express themselves, and not a *divisio generis* in species.

The first sort, called Nazarites from נָזִיר *nazar*, *separavit*, are mentioned several times in the Old and New Testament; the second, whose name is derived from the city Nazareth, are occasionally mentioned in the New; for the third, who rejected the five books of Moses, and were therefore termed Nazarites, according to Godwin, from נָשַׁר *nasa*, *difsecuit*, because they cut off or excluded these books from the canon of scripture; finding no mention of them either in the Old Testament, or in the New, I think they deserve no further notice: It is chiefly the first sort, that we are now to consider.

The first person, to whom the title נָזִיר *nazir*, is applied is Joseph, who in the forty-ninth chapter of Genesis is said to be נָזִיר אַחִיז *nezir*

nezir echaiv, which we render “separated from his brethren (a);” but the vulgate, “Nazaræi inter fratres suos.” Moses gives him the same title in the blessing which he pronounced on his posterity in the book of Deuteronomy: “Let the blessing come upon the head of Joseph, and upon the top of the head of him that was separated from his brethren (b);” נזיר אחיו nezir echaiv. He is called נזיר nazir, not because he was of any particular sect, or such a Nazarite, as those concerning whom we are discoursing; but for one or other of the following reasons; either because he was separated from the society of his brethren by their malice towards him, or from their evil practices and examples by the grace of God, or was advanced by providence so high above them in dignity and honour. The septuagint espouses the last mentioned reason, reading נזיר אחיו nezir echaiv, in Genesis, *ἐπὶ κορυφῆς αὐτοῦ ἡγνήσατο ἀδελφῶν*, super caput fratrum, quorum dux fuit; and in Deuteronomy, *ἐπὶ κορυφῆς δοξάσθεις ἐπ’ ἀδελφοῖς*, super verticem glorificatus in fratribus. Hence the word נזר nezer is sometimes used for a royal or sacerdotal crown or diadem: “Thou hast profaned his (the king’s) crown, נזר nezer, by casting it to the ground (c).” Again, “They made the plate of the holy crown (of the high-priest) of pure gold (d).”

But whatever was the reason of Joseph’s being called נזיר nazir, the word came afterwards to denote a particular sort of separation and devotedness to God; and on that account was applied to the Nazarites: Who were accordingly

(a) Gen xlix. 26.
lxxxix. 39.

(b) Deut. xxxiii. 16.
(d) Exod. xxxix. 30.

(c) Psal.

ingly of two sorts, such as were by their parents devoted to God in their infancy, or even sometimes before they were born, and such as devoted themselves. The former are called Nazaræi nativi, and were Nazarites for life; the latter Nazaræi votivi, who ordinarily bound themselves to observe the laws of the Nazarites only for a limited time.

In the number of the Nazaræi nativi, or perpetual Nazarites, were Sampson (*a*), Samuel (*b*), and John the baptist (*c*). All that we can discover in their way of life, which was peculiar, was, that they were to abstain from wine and intoxicating liquors, and were not to shave their heads, but let their hair grow to its full length. It is true, neither Samuel nor John the baptist are expressly called Nazarites, as Sampson is. Nevertheless as one law of the Nazarites is mentioned to which Samuel was obliged, namely, that no razor should come upon his head; and another to which the baptist was obliged, that he should drink neither wine nor strong drink; it is reasonably presumed they were both under obligation to observe all the laws of the perpetual Nazarites.

The rabbies insist, that Absalom was a perpetual Nazarite, because he wore his hair so long that when he polled it, it weighed two hundred shekels (*d*). But as this circumstance is mentioned immediately after the account of the beauty of his person (*e*), it leads one to conclude, that he wore his hair so long, rather for ornament than on any religious account. Besides, his polling it at the end of the year is an

VOL. I.

E e

evidence

(*a*) Judg. xiii. 5. (*b*) 1 Sam. i. 11. (*c*) Luke i.
15. (*d*) 2 Sam. xiv. 26. (*e*) ver. 25.

evidence against his being a perpetual Nazarite. The rabbies indeed, have framed a rule for the perpetual Nazarites, on purpose not to exclude Absalom; affirming, that when their hair grew very heavy and troublesome, they were allowed to cut it to the length in which it was ordinarily worn by other people, but not to shave it quite off; and this, they say, was the reason of Absalom's polling his head every year, because his hair grew so exceeding heavy, that what he cut off weighed "two hundred shekels after the king's weight *."

We shall not stay to dispute this point with the rabbies, because it is of no great consequence. But the amazing weight of Absalom's hair demands our particular attention. Dr. Cumberland, in his essay on jewish weights and measures, shews, that a jewish shekel of silver was equal to half an ounce avoirdupoise. Consequently two hundred shekels is six pounds and a quarter; an incredible weight for the hair of one man's head!

Various are the conjectures of the learned in order to remove this difficulty. Some suppose the shekel, here spoken of, was less than the common shekel; and they observe his hair is said to weigh "two hundred shekels after the king's weight," not according to the common shekel of the sanctuary. Now should we suppose the shekel here meant to be a weight in gold equal to the value of the silver shekel, or half ounce, that would reduce the weight of the hair to about five ounces.

Others

* Vid. R. de Bartenor. & Maimon. comment. in Mishn. tit. Nazir, cap. 1. §. 2. tom. 3. p. 148. edit. Surénhus.

Others imagine there has been an error in transcribing the hebrew copy ; that the number of shekels being expressed by the numeral letter **כ** caph, which stands for twenty, the transcriber mistook it for **ר** resh, which stands for two hundred ; a mistake, which might easily be made, if the lower part of the caph was not very plain.

Others, again, are of opinion, that the two hundred shekels denote not the weight, but the value, of the hair; the jewisH women having been used to purchase it to adorn themselves. It cannot, indeed, be easily supposed, that the king's son sold his hair. But the verb שקל shakal, rendered "he weighed," may be taken impersonally *, to signify, it was weighed at the rate of two hundred shekels, perhaps by the barber, whose perquisite it might be.

Where we cannot arrive at certainty we must be content with probability; and I apprehend either of these conjectures is sufficiently probable to relieve the difficulty in the text.

We return to the Nazarites; I have only further to observe concerning the Nazaræi nativi, that they were not bound to the same strictness as the votivi, who must not touch any dead carcase, nor so much as enter the doors of a house where a deceased person was. Sampson, who was a Nazaræus natus, made no scruple of taking honey out of the carcase of a lion (*a*); and Samuel hewed Agag in pieces (*b*).

As for the Nazaræi votivi, who bound themselves by a vow to observe the law of the Na-

E e 2 zarites

* See many instances of this sort produced by Glassius, Philolog. sacra, lib. iii. Tract. iii. de Verbo, Canon xxiii. p. 380, 381. edit. Amstel. 1711.

(a) Judg. xiv. 8, 9. (b) 1 Sam. xv. 33.

zarites for a certain time, suppose a month, (the rabbies say, it could not be for a less time, though it might be for a longer *,) their laws, which are contained in the sixth chapter of the book of Numbers, are these :

1st, That they should abstain from wine, and from all inebriating liquors, and even from eating grapes, during the time of their separation (a).

2dly, That they should let their hair grow without cutting is till the days of their vow were fulfilled (b) ; and then they were to have their hair shaved off at the door of the tabernacle, and burnt under the altar (c). It was probably from this custom of the jewish Nazarites, that the Gentiles learnt the practice of consecrating their hair to their gods †, of which Suetonius relates an instance in his life of Nero ; informing us, that he cut off his first beard, and put it into a golden box set with jewels, and consecrated it to Jupiter Capitolinus ‡.

When a Nazaræus votivus was polluted by touching any dead body, he was to “ shave his head on the seventh day,” that is, at the end of the time, during which he was unclean, and “ on the eighth day to offer a sin-offering and a burnt-offering” for his purification ; and then to “ consecrate unto the Lord the days of his separation,” bringing a “ lamb of the first year for a trespass-offering ;” that is, he was to begin again the accomplishment of his vow, “ the days

* Mishn. tit Nazir, cap. 1. §. 3. p. 148. tom. 3. edit. Surenhus.

(a) Numb. vi. 3, 4. (b) ver. 5. (c) ver. 18.

† Lucian represents this as a very common custom, with which he himself had complied, de Syriâ Dea, sub fin.

‡ Sueton. in vit. Neronis, cap. xii. 11. p. 176, 177. tom. 2. edit. Pitiscii, Traject. ad Rhen. 1690.

days which were before having been lost, because his separation was defiled (*a*).” The Nazarite’s shaving his head in case of pollution is not ordered to be done, as in case of the accomplishment of his vow, at the temple; but might be done any where, it seems, in the country, provided it was not so far distant as to prevent his offering the accustomed sacrifices at the temple the next day. However, some learned men have thought, that those, who were at a great distance or in foreign countries, might have their head shaved in the place where they were, and offer the appointed sacrifice at the temple the next opportunity, whether on account of accidental pollution, or at the accomplishment of their vow *. Thus, they say, Paul (according to others Aquila †) did (*b*), who made his vow at Corinth, shaved his head at Cenchrea, and went soon afterward to Jerusalem to accomplish it by the usual offering ‡.

3dly, A Nazarite must not come near any dead body, while the vow was upon him (*c*).

It is to be observed, that women as well as men might bind themselves by this vow :

E e 3

“ When

(*a*) Numb. vi. 9,—12.

* Steph. Morin. Dissert. viii. p. 103. Grotius in Acts xviii. 18. Ancient universal history, in the history of the Jews, book i. chap. vii.

† Witfii Meletem. de vitâ Pauli, Sect. vii. §. xiii. p. 100. & xv. ad fin. p. 102. Grotius in loc.

(*b*) Acts xviii. 18.

‡ Concerning St. Paul’s vow see Doddridge in loc. Lardner’s Credibi. vol. 1. book 1. chap. 9. §. 7. Benson’s history of planting the christian religion, vol. 2. chap. 5. §. 13. & chap. 8. §. 11. Hammond in loc. Wolfii Curæ philolog. in loc. and Meinhard de Pauli Nasiræatu, apud Thesaur. philolog. theolog. tom. 2. p. 473. especially cap. iv. Amstel. 1702.

(*c*) Numb. vi. 6.

“When either man or woman shall separate themselves to vow a vow of a Nazarite,” then they shall do so and so (*a*). This the mother of Sampson is advised by the angel to do, at least to submit to the rule of the Nazarites during the time of her gestation (*b*).

The institution of Nazaritism was no doubt partly religious, and it might also be partly civil and prudential.

That it was partly religious, is concluded from the following passage of the prophet Amos, in which, among other extraordinary favours and blessings which God had vouchsafed to the Israelites, he tells them, “I raised up of your sons for prophets, and of your young men for Nazarites (*c*);” that is, I inspired them with a more than ordinary spirit of devotion and piety, and induced them to take the Nazarite’s vow, by which they were bound to the strictest sanctity, to give themselves to reading, meditation and prayer; and, in token of their moral purity, carefully to avoid all legal pollution, and in sign of their spiritual mortification, and as having their minds so taken up with divine contemplation as to be negligent of external ornaments, they were to let their hair grow without trimming. Moreover they were to abstain from wine and all inebriating liquors during the days of their separation; just as the priests were forbidden to drink wine during their attendance on their ministry, “lest they forget the law,” and their minds should be discomposed for the exercises of devotion.

The interdiction laid on the Nazarites, was more strict and severe than that laid upon the priests.

(*a*) Numb. vi. 2.
ii. 11.

(*b*) Judg. xiii. 7.

(*c*) Amos

priests. The former were forbidden the total use of the vine; they might neither taste “any liquor made of grapes, whether wine or vinegar, nor eat moist grapes nor dried, neither any thing that came of the vine-tree, from the kernel even to the husk (a).” Which occasions Dr. Lightfoot’s making the two following queries:

1st, Whether the vine-tree might not be the tree in paradise, which was forbidden to Adam, and by tasting the fruit of which he sinned and fell. The jewish doctors, he saith, positively asserted this without the least hesitation.

2dly, Whether the law about the Nazarites had not some reference to Adam, while under that prohibition in his state of innocence? If the bodily and legal uncleannesses, concerning which there are precepts so very strict in the thirteenth chapter of Leviticus; if the leprosy especially, the greatest of all uncleannesses, properly betokened the state and nature of sin, might not the laws concerning Nazarites, which enjoined the strictest purity in the most pure religion, insomuch that Nazarites are said to be “purer then snow and whiter than milk (b),” be designed in commemoration of the state of innocence before the fall *?

But beside the religious, there might also be a civil and prudential use of this institution, the sobriety and temperance which the Nazarites were bound to observe, being very conducive to health. Accordingly they are celebrated for their fair and ruddy complexion, being said to be both whiter than milk and more ruddy in

E e 4

body

(a) Numb. vi. 3, 4.

(b) Lam. iv. 7.

* Lightfoot, Horæ hebr. in Luc. i. 15.

body than rubies (*a*): the sure signs of a sound and healthy constitution. It may here be observed, that when God intended to raise up Sampson, by his strength of body to scourge the enemies of Israel, he ordered, that from his infancy he should drink no wine, but live by the rule of the Nazarites, because that would greatly contribute to make him strong and healthy; intending, after nature had done its utmost to form this extraordinary instrument of his providence, to supply its defect by his own supernatural power*.

Godwin mentions a second sort of Nazarites, who were so termed from נָצַר *natfar*, from whence came Natfareth or Nazareth, the name of a town in Galilee where Christ was conceived and brought up. Hence our Saviour was himself called a Nazarene, or Nazarite (*b*); for this name or title, as applied to Christ, is sometimes wrote Ναζαρηνός (*c*), sometimes Ναζοραῖος (*d*), which words seem to be used by the evangelists in precisely the same sense; accordingly the Syriac version renders both by the word Notzrio.

The evangelist Matthew, assigning as the reason for our Saviour's being called Ναζαραῖος, that he came and dwelt in the city of Nazareth (*e*), and referring to some prophecy, which,

(*a*) Lam. iv. 7.

* Concerning the Nazarites see Ainsworth on Numb. vi. Relandi Antiq. Hebræor. part ii. cap. x. Leusden. Philolog. hebræo-mixt. dissert. xxii. Spanhem. Dubia Evang. p. ii. dub. xciii. xciv. Meinhard. de Naziræatu Pauli, ubi supra; and Sigonius de Republ. Hebræor. lib. v. cap. viii. cum notis Nicolai, Ludg. Bat. 1701.

(*b*) Matt. ii. 23.

(*c*) Mark xiv. 67. xvi. 6.

Luke iv. 34.

(*d*) Matt. xxvi. 71. John xviii. 7, 8.

Acts ii. 22.

(*e*) Matt. ii. 23.

which, at least in exprefs words, is no where to be found in all the Old Testament, hath given the criticks and commentators no little trouble: “that it might be fulfilled, saith he, which was spoken by the prophets, he shall be called a Nazarene.” Some indeed suppose the reference is to what is said of Sampson *, whom they take to be a type of Christ, “The child shall be a Nazarite unto God (a):” and this they say, was accomplished in his antitype. Others † conceive the prophecy is to be found in Isaiah, where Christ is termed נֶצֶר netzer, “the branch (b).” Witsius thinks he discovers it in the book of Job (c), and in several other places, where God is called נוֹצֵר notzer, the “preserver of Men ‡.” However, there is one very material objection against all these solutions, that they give no account how this was fulfilled by Christ’s being at Nazareth. Either therefore we must acquiesce in the opinion of Chrysostom §, that the passage here referred to is lost ||; or, in that more probable one of Jerom, that the evangelist does not here refer to any one particular passage, but to what several of the prophets had in effect said. For in that he uses the word prophets in the plural number, it is evident, saith that father, he did not

* Kidder on the Messiah, part ii. p. 67, 68. 2d. edit. fol. 1726.

(a) Judg. xiii. 5.

† See Hammond on Matt. ii. 23. and Deylingius in his observationes sacrae, pars 1. observ. xl. §. iii. p. 177, 178. Lipsiæ 1720.

(b) Isa. xi. 1. (c) Job vii. 20.

‡ Meletem. Diss. ii. §. xvi,—xvii. p. 285,—287.

§ Homil. in Matt. ix.

|| So Mr. Whitton supposes, see his sermons at Boyle’s lecture on the accomplishment of prophecies, p. 54. Cambridge 1708.

not take the words from the scripture, but the sense only *. Now being called a Nazarene is the same thing as being one, the Hebrews expressing word and thing by the same term. The name of God in many places signifies God himself. "His name shall be called," means he shall be, "wonderful, counsellor, the mighty God, the everlasting father, the prince of peace (a)." "My house shall be called, signifies my house shall be, the house of prayer (b)." The meaning then of Christ's being called Ναζαρενός may be, that he shall be despised and reproached, according to a variety of predictions (c), which were accomplished, in one instance at least, by his being called a Nazarite from his having dwelt at Nazareth, that being a town of such ill repute that it was commonly thought no good could come out of it (d); and our Saviour's being supposed to come out of it being one occasion of his being despised and rejected by the Jews (e).

Nevertheless the appellation Ναζαρενός, of Nazareth, coming to be added to Jesus, to distinguish him from all others of the same name, we find it sometimes applied to him when no reproach was intended, as by St. Peter (f), and by an angel (g). It is however, generally used by the Jews as a term of reproach, not only in respect to our Saviour himself, but to his disciples after his ascension. They stiled them "the sect of the Nazarenes (b)." Nevertheless

* See the passage quoted by Whitby on Matt. ii. 23.

(a) Isa. ix. 6. (b) Isa. lvi. 7. Mark. xi. 17.
 (c) Psal. xxii. 6. lxix. 9. Isa. liii. 3,—5. Zech. xi. 12,
 13. (d) John i. 46. (e) John vii. 52. (f) Acts
 ii. 22. iii. 6. iv. 10. (g) Mark xvi. 6. (h) Acts
 xxiv. 5.

less the disciples of Christ, after they had generally taken the name of Christians, turned the tables upon the Jews, giving this title of reproach to the judaizing Christians; as we learn from Epiphanius; who says, the Nazareans were the same with the Jews in every thing relating to the doctrine and ceremonies of the Old Testament, only differing from them in this, that they professed to believe, that Jesus Christ was the Messiah *. These were the heretics Godwin speaks of under the name of Nazarites. But the history and dogmata of this sect belong rather to Christian, than to Jewish antiquities †.

As to the Rechabites, though they dwelt among the Israelites, they did not belong to any of their tribes; for they were Kenites, as appears from the second chapter of the first book of Chronicles, where the Kenites are said to have come of Hemath the father of the house of Rechab (a)". These Kenites, afterwards stiled Rechabites, were of the family of Jethro, otherwise called Hobab, whose daughter Moses married; for "the children of the Kenite, Moses's father-in-law," it is said, "went up out of the city of Palm-trees with the children of Judah, and dwelt among the people (b);" and we read of "Hober the Kenite, who was of the children of Hohab the father-in-law of Moses, who had severed himself from the Kenites," or
from

* Epiphan. adversus Hæreses, hæ. xxix. §. vii. apud oper. tom 1. p. 122. edit. Petav. Colon. 1682.

† See on this title of Christ, Spanhem. Dubia Evangel. part. ii. dub. xc, xci, xciii. Witsii Meletem. Dissert. ii. and the commentators on Matt. ii. 22.

(a) 1 Chron. ii. 55.

(b) Judg. i. 16.

from the bulk of them who settled in the tribe of Judah, “and pitched his tent in the plain of Zaanaim (*a*).” They appear to have sprung from Midian, the son of Abraham by Keturah (*b*), for Jethro, from whom they are descended, is called a Midianite (*c*). This Jethro was invited by Moses his son in law to leave his country and settle with his family among the Israelites. At first he refused (*d*); but afterwards, being importuned (*e*), it seems, he consented; since we find his posterity settled among the Israelites, with whom they continued till their latest ages. Balaam, therefore, celebrates their prudence and happiness, in putting themselves under the protection of God’s favourite nation, though he foretels that they should be fellow sufferers in the captivity (*f*). Of this family was Jonadab, the son of Rechab, a man of eminent zeal for the pure worship of God against idolatry, who assisted king Jehu in destroying the house of Ahab; and the worshippers of Baal (*g*). It was he who gave that rule of life to his children and posterity, which we read of in the thirty-fifth chapter of Jeremiah (*h*). It consisted of these three articles:

1st, That they should drink no wine.

2dly, That they should neither possess nor occupy any houses, fields or vineyards.

3dly, That they should dwell in tents.

In these regulations he seems to have had no religious, but meerly a prudential view, as is intimated in the reason assigned for them (*i*), “that you may live many days in the land where

(*a*) Judg. iv. 11.
x. 27. (*i*) ver. 30.
xxiv. 21, 22.

(*b*) Jerem. xxxv. 6, 7.

(*b*) Gen. xxv. 2.

(*e*) ver. 31, 32.

(*g*) 2 Kings x. 15, 16, 23. &c.

(*i*) ver. 7.

(*c*) Numb.

(*f*) Numb.

where you are strangers." And this would be the natural consequence of observing these rules, inasmuch

1st, As their temperate way of living would very much contribute to preserve their health: and as

2dly, They would hereby avoid giving umbrage to, and exciting the envy of the Jews who might have been provoked by their engaging and succeeding in the principal business in which they themselves were employed, namely, tillage and vine dressing, to expel them their country; by which they would have been deprived of the religious advantages they then enjoyed. That they might, therefore, be under no temptation to plant and cultivate vineyards, he forbade them the use of wine.

Should it be enquired, how they maintained themselves, it may be answered, they are in the first book of Chronicles called scribes (*a*), which intimates, that they were engaged in some sort of literary employments.

I suppose the reason of Godwin's treating of the Nazarites and Rechabites in the same chapter is, that neither of them drank wine; for in no other respect were they alike, the former being a religious, and the latter meerly a prudential and civil institution*.

(*a*) 1 Chron. ii. 55.

* Vid. Witfii Dissert. de Rechabitis, prefixed to his latin translation of Godwin's Moses and Aaron, inserted into Hottinger's edition, and printed likewise in Witfii Miscellan. tom. 2.



CH A P. IX.

Of the ASSIDEANS.

AFTER the spirit of prophecy ceased, and there were no inspired persons to whom the Jews could apply, to decide their religious doubts and disputes, different opinions soon sprang up among them and divided them into various sects and parties; the chief of which were the Pharisees, the Sadducees, and the Essenes, all supposed to arise from the Assideans, who are entitled, therefore, to our first attention.

The hebrew word חסידים *chasidim*, is used in several places of scripture appellatively, for good and pious men (*a*); but never, I apprehend, for a religious sect. In the apocryphal book of the Maccabees, indeed, we often meet with the *ασιδαιοι*, a word plainly derived from the hebrew חסידים *chasidim*; as in the following passage: "There came to Mattathias a company of Assideans, who were mighty men of Israel, even all such as were voluntarily devoted unto the law (*b*)."
These Assideans, spoken of
in

(*a*) Psal. cxlix. 1. cxlv. 10. Isai. lviii. 1. Mic. vii. 2.
(*b*) 1 Macc. ii. 42. See also chap. vii. 13. and 2 Macc. xiv. 16.

in the Maccabees, have generally been supposed to be some sect, subsisting at that time. Yet, as Josephus wrote of the same times, and of the same affairs, without mentioning any such sect, some have doubted, and not without reason, whether there ever was any such, and whether the word *ασιδαιοι* be not used in the Maccabees, as *חסידים* chasidim is in the hebrew bible, for pious persons in general, even such as “were voluntarily devoted unto the law.” And it is no improbable conjecture, that as they were persons generally, of that character, who, in defence of their law and religion, first adhered to Mattathias and afterward to his son Judas Maccabeus, the name *ασιδαιοι*, or saints, was by their enemies converted into a term of reproach and scorn, as the word puritans was in the last century, and saints very often is now. And as I see no sufficient evidence, of the *ασιδαιοι*, in the time of the Maccabees, being a distinct sect from other pious Jews, I lay no stress, upon Godwin’s distinction betwixt the *צדיקים* tsadikim and the *חסידים* chasidim, which he saith took place after the captivity, and consisted in the following particulars: the Tsadikim gave themselves to the study of the scripture; the chasidim studied how to add to the scripture; the former would conform to whatever the law required; the latter would be holy above the law: thus to the repairing of the temple, the maintaining of sacrifices, the relief of the poor, &c. they would voluntarily add over and above, to that which the law required.

Neither do I think it probable, as Godwin supposes, that this apostle refers to any such distinction, when he saith, “Scarcely for a righteous man, *δικαιος*, would one die, yet peradventure

venture for a good man, αγαθος, some would even dare to die (a).” By the αγαθος, or good man, the apostle rather meant a kind, benevolent, charitable man, than such as were for adding to the divine law, and performing works of supererogation. In this sense the word αγαθος is continually used in the New Testament. For instance, in the gospel of St. Matthew we meet with this expression, “Is thine eye evil because I am good, or beneficent, αγαθος (b)?” In the epistle to the Romans, “Be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good,” αγαθω, with kind and generous actions (c). In the epistle to Philemon το αγαθον means “thy kindness (d);” and in the apocryphal book of Ecclesiasticus αγαθος οφθαλμος signifies “the liberal eye (e).” The meaning and design of the apostle therefore, in the passage before us, may be thus represented: So engaging are the charms of generosity and benevolence above mere righteousness and justice, that though scarcely any man will hazard his life for one who has nothing but the latter to recommend him, several might be found who would run this important risque to prevent the death or destruction of a disinterested and generous friend. But the love of Christ (for it is to illustrate that love the apostle makes this observation,) appears to be far more free, generous and exalted than any instance of human friendship, in that when we were yet sinners, and possessed therefore of none

of

(a) Rom. v. 7, 8.

(b) Matt. xx. 15.

(c) Rom. xii. 21.

(d) Philem. ver. 14.

(e) Eccius. xxxv. 8.

of these good or amiable qualities to recommend us; he laid down his life for us*.

The **צדיקים** tsadikim, Godwin imagines, were the same with the **קראים** karraim, or Karraites. It is certain the Karraites were anciently a considerable sect, which is still in being in Poland and Russia; but chiefly in Turkey and Egypt.

They have their name from the chaldee word **קרא** kara, scriptura sacra, because they adhered to the scriptures; as the whole and only rule of their faith and practice; which occasioned their being called **קראים** karraim, textuales or scriptuarii, while those who adhered to the traditions taught by the rabbies, were called **רבנים** rabbanim, rabbinistæ.

These party names were first given them about thirty years before Christ, when, upon the dissension betwixt Hillel the president of the Sanhedrim and Shammai the vice-president, by which their respective scholars were lifted into two parties, betwixt whom there were perpetual contests, those that were of the opinion of the Karraites sided with the school of Shammai, and those who were zealous for traditions with the school of Hillel. Nevertheless, though the name **קראים** karraim, be thus modern, the sect boasts of their high antiquity; for they say, they are the followers of Moses and the prophets, as they undoubtedly are on account of their adhering to the scriptures, in opposi-

VOL. I.

F f

tion

* Concerning the Assideans consult Drusius de Hæresibus, and de tribus sectis Judæorum, lib. iv. cap. x,—xiii. and also his Quæst. hebr. lib. i. quæst. xlvii. Scaliger's Elenchus Trihæreseôs Judæorum, cap. xxii. Fuller's Miscell. sacra, lib. i. cap. 8. and Prideaux's Connect. part. ii. book 5. sub anno 107. vol. 3. p. 256, 257. edit. 10.

tion to human traditions. Yet Dr. Prideaux says, they did not reject all traditions absolutely, only refused them the same authority as they allowed to the written word. As human helps conducive to their better understanding the scriptures they were content to admit them, but not to put them on a foot with the written oracles of God, as all the other Jews did *.

The Karraites differ also from the rest of the Jews in this, that they read the scriptures, as well as their liturgies, every where both in publick and private, in the language of the country in which they dwell; at Constantinople, in modern Greek; in Caffa, in Turkish, &c †.

As the school of Hillel prevailed against that of Shammai, the rabbiniſts became the popular ſect, and the Karraites were looked upon as ſchiſmatics and heretics, being loaded with much reproach by the other Jews; though in reality of all their ſects, they were the pureſt and moſt pious: They are frequently branded with the name Sadducees by the jewiſh rabbies, by whom I ſuppoſe Godwin was led into the miſtake which he commits, when he repreſents them, as rejecting, not only traditions, but all ſcripture except the five books of Moſes. The truth is, all the Sadducees agreed with the Karraites in rejecting traditions, but the Karraites by no means agreed with the Sadducees in rejecting the greater part of the ſcriptures.

As the rabbiniſts interpret the ſcriptures by the traditions, which the Karraites reject, it is no wonder they differ in the ſenſe of many texts, and

* Prideaux's Connect. part. ii. book v. ſub anno 107. vol. 3. p. 476.

† Hottingeri Theſaur. philolog. inter addenda, p. 583. edit. Tigur. 1649.

and practise the rites of worship in a different manner. Reland reckons up six articles of difference betwixt the Karraites and other Jews:

1st, The rabbiniſts reckon the feaſt of the new moon, and the beginning of the month, by astronomical calculations; the Karraites begin the month with the firſt appearance of the moon after the change.

2dly, The rabbiniſts killed the paſchal lamb in the afternoon, when the ſun was declining; the Karraites, not till after the ſun was ſet.

3dly, The rabbiniſts admitted the whole family to eat the paſſover; the Karraites, none but the males, and of them only ſuch as were of age.

4thly, The rabbiniſts held, that what remained of the paſſover was to be burnt on the ſixteenth day of the month, or if that proved the ſabbath, on the ſeventeenth; the Karraites, that it was always to be burnt on the fifteenth (a).

5thly, They differed about the meaning of the law concerning the offering of the ſheaf of the firſt fruits (b). The rabbiniſts offered it the day after the paſſover; the Karraites thought it was to be offered the day after the ſabbath next to the paſſover.

6thly, In the feaſt of tabernacles, the rabbiniſts carry about branches and a citron, in a ſort of proceſſion; the Karraites allow of no ſuch ceremony *.

F f 2

It

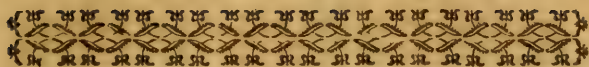
(a) See Exod. xii. 10. (b) Lev. xxiii. 10, 11.

* Vid. Relandi Antiquitat. Hebræor. part. ii. cap. ix. §. xii. See alſo on the ſubject of the Karraites, Trigland. de Sectâ Karæorum. Father Simon's Histoire critique Vieux Testament, liv. 1. ch. 29. or the latin edition, p. 145. and alſo his Diſquiſitiones criticae, cap. 12. R. Mardocheus Karæus, apud Wolfii Notitiam Karæorum. Baſnag. hiſt. of the Jews, book 2. chap. 8, 9.

It may not be improper to observe, that the Mohammedans are distinguished into two sects, in some measure analogous to the rabbinites and Karraites among the Jews; namely, the Sonnites and the Shiites. The Sonnites are so called, because they acknowledge the authority of the Sonna, or collection of traditions concerning the sayings and actions of their prophet, which is a kind of supplement to the Koran, directing the observance of several things there omitted, and in name as well as design answering to the Mishna of the Jews.

The Shiites, which name properly signifies sectaries or adherents in general, but is peculiarly applied to the sect of Ali, reject the Sonna as apocryphal and fabulous. These acknowledge Ali, the son-in-law of Mohammed, for his true and lawful successor, and even prefer him to Mohammed himself. The Turks are Sonnites; the Persians Shiites. These two mohammedan sects have as great an antipathy to one another, as any two sects either of Jews or Christians. So greatly is Spinoza mistaken, in preferring the order of the mohammedan church to that of the Roman, because no schisms have arisen in the former since its birth*.

* Vid. Spinoz. Opera posthuma, p. 613, and Sale's preliminary discourse to his translation of the Koran. Sect. viii. p. 175, 178. London, 1734.



C H A P. X.

Of the PHARISEES.

THE Pharisees derived their name not, as some have supposed, from פֶּרֶשׁ pharash, exposuit, because they were in the highest reputation for expounding the law ; for it appears by the rabbies, there were women Pharisees, to whom that office did not appertain : but either, as Godwin apprehends, from פִּרְשֵׁי pirresh, in the conjugation pihel ; or from פָּרַס pharas, devisit, partitus est, which is sometimes written with a ש, Sin (a). פְּרוּשִׁים pherushim, in the hebrew dialect ; or פְּרִישִׁין pherishin, or פְּרִישִׁיא pherishe, according to the Chaldee, signifies persons who were separated from others ; which name therefore was assumed by the Pharisees, not because they held separate assemblies for divine worship, but because they pretended to a more than ordinary sanctity and strictness in religion. Thus in the Acts of the apostles the Pharisees are said to be “ ἀκριβέσταται αἰρέσεις,” the most exact sect of the jewish religion (b) : agreeable to the account Josephus gives, that this sect was thought “ εὐσεβεστέρον εἶναι τῶν ἄλλων”

F f 3

to

(a) See Mic. iii. 3. Lam. iv. 4.

(b) Acts xxvi. 5.

to be more pious and devout than others, and to interpret the law with greater accuracy *. In another place he saith, they valued themselves in their exactness in the law, and on their skill in the interpretation of it; and seemed to excel all others in the knowledge and observation of the customs of their fathers †.

It is very uncertain when this sect first sprung up; but there is no doubt, its date, as well as that of all other religious sects among the Jews, ought to be fixed later than the death of Malachi, when the spirit of prophecy ceased from Israel. We read, indeed, of persons much of the same spirit and temper with the Pharisees in Isaiah; who said "stand by thyself, come not near me; for I am holier than thou (a)." But this only shows, there were proud hypocrites before the sect of the Pharisees arose.

I know not upon what authority Godwin makes Antigonus Socheus to be the founder of this sect three hundred years before Christ. Dr. Lightfoot thinks, that pharisaism rose up gradually, and was long before it came to the maturity of a sect; but when that was, he does not pretend to determine ‡. It appears by Josephus, that in the time of John Hyrcanus, the high-priest, and prince of the Asmonean line, about an hundred and eight years before Christ, the sect was not only formed, but made a considerable figure. Insomuch that this prince thought it for his interest to endeavour to ingratiate himself with the Pharisees, and

* Joseph. de bello judaic. lib. i. cap. v. §. 2. p. 63. Haverc. See also lib. ii. cap. viii. §. 14. p. 166.

† Antiq. lib. xvii. cap. ii. §. 4. p. 830. & in vitâ suâ, §. 38. p. 18. (a) Isai. lxxv. 5.

‡ Horæ hebr. in Matt. iii. 7.

and gain them to his party. For this end he invited the heads of them to an entertainment, and having regaled them, paid them the complement to desire, that if they saw any thing in his administration unacceptable to God, or unjust or injurious to men, they would admonish him of it, and give him their advice and instructions, how it might be reformed and amended. Whereupon one Eleazar, a scribe Pharisee, told him, “that if he would approve himself a just man, he must quit the priesthood, and content himself with the civil government.” Upon that he was highly provoked, and went over to the Sadducees *. To what a height of popularity and power this sect was grown about eighty years before Christ, appears from another passage in Josephus†: When king Alexander Janneus lay on his death-bed, and his wife Alexandra was exceedingly troubled at the ill state in which she found she and her children would be left, on account of the hatred which she knew the Pharisees bore to her husband and his family; he advised her by all means to caress the Pharisees, since that would be the way to secure her the affection of the bulk of the nation; for there were no such friends where they loved, and no such enemies where they hated, and whether they spoke true or false, good or evil of any person, they would be alike believed by the common people. With this view he enjoined her, after his death to commit his body to their disposal; and at the same time to assure them, that she would ever resign

F f 4

herself

* Joseph. Antiq. lib. xiii. cap. x. §. 5, 6. p. 662.
663.

† Ubi supra, cap. xv. §. 5. & cap. xvi. §. 1. p. 673,
676.

herself to their authority and direction: Do this, said he, and you will not only gain me an honourable funeral, but yourself and your children a secure settlement in the government. And so it accordingly happened; his funeral was more sumptuous than any of his predecessors, and his queen was firmly established in the supreme administration of the nation.

According to Basnage one Aristobulus, an alexandrian Jew, and a peripatetic philosopher, who flourished about 125 years before Christ and wrote some commentaries on the scripture in the allegorical way, was the author of those traditions, by an adherence to which chiefly the Pharisees were distinguished from other jewish sects*. But it is by no means probable, such an heap of traditions should spring up at once; but rather gradually, and so according to Lightfoot† did the sect of the Pharisees itself, till at length it became the most considerable of all.

Their distinguishing dogmata may be all, in a manner, referred to their holding the traditions of the elders; which they not only set upon an equal footing with the written law, but in many cases explained the former by the latter, quite contrary to its true intent and meaning. And thus “they made the commandment of God of none effect by their traditions (a).” They pretended to derive these from the same fountain with the written word itself; for they say, that when Moses waited upon God forty days in the mount, he received from him a double law; one in writing, the other

* Basnage's history of the Jews, book ii. chap ix. §. 2.
p. 110. London, 1708.

† Lightfoot, horæ hebr.

Matt. iii. 7. §. iii.

(a) Mat. xv. 6.

other traditionary, containing the sense and explication of the former; that Moses, being come to his tent, repeated it first to Aaron, then to Ithamar and Eleazar his sons, then to the seventy elders, and lastly to all the people. The rabbies further inform us, that Moses at his death repeated the oral law again to Joshua; that he delivered it to the elders, they to the prophets, and the prophets to the wise men of the great synagogue; and so it was handed through several generations, till at length R. Judah Haccodheh, reflecting on the unsettled condition of his nation after the destruction of Jerusalem and the Jewish polity, and how apt these traditionary precepts would be to be forgotten in their dispersion and oppression, committed them to writing about 150 years after Christ*, and called his book the Mishna, or the second law, of which we have formerly given an account.

The dogmata of the Pharisees may be distinguished into doctrinal and practical.

The distinguishing doctrines, maintained by this sect, were concerning predestination and free-will, angels and spirits, and the future state and resurrection.

1st, As to predestination and free-will, they went a middle way betwixt the Sadducees, who denied the pre-determination of human actions and events, and the Essenes, who ascribed all things to fate and to the stars. Whereas the Pharisees, according to Josephus, ascribed some things to fate, but held that other things were left in a man's own power, so that he might do them or not†: Or rather, according to another account he

* See p. 400. note †

† Joseph. Antiq. lib. xiii. cap. v. §, 9. p. 649.

he gives *, they held, that all things were decreed of God, yet not so as to take away the freedom of man's will in acting.

2dly, The Pharisees held the doctrine of angels and separate human spirits, which the Sadducees denied (*a*).

3dly, As to the future state and resurrection, the Pharisees differed both from the Sadducees and Essenes. For, whereas the former held that both soul and body utterly perished at death, and had no existence after it; and the latter, that the soul would continue to exist after death, but without any future union with the body, the Pharisees maintained the resurrection of the bodies, at least, of good men; and the future and eternal state of retribution to all men (*b*). Josephus, who was himself a Pharisee, gives this account of their doctrine in these points, “*Ψυχὴν δὲ πᾶσαν μὲν ἀθάνατον, μεταβαίνειν δὲ εἰς ἕτερον σῶμα, τὴν τῶν ἀγαθῶν μόνην, τὴν δὲ τῶν φαυλῶν αἰδῶ τιμωρίᾳ χολαζέσθαι*: Every soul is immortal, those of the good only enter into another body; but those of the bad are tormented with everlasting punishment †. From whence it has been pretty generally concluded, that the resurrection they held was only a pythagorean one, namely, the transmigration of the soul into another body; from which they excluded all that were notoriously wicked, who were doomed at once to eternal punishment; but their opinion was that those who were guilty only of lesser crimes were punished for them in

* De bello Judaic. lib. ii, cap. viii. §. 14. p. 166. Antiq. lib. xviii. cap. i. §. 3. p. 871.

(*a*) Acts xxiii. 8.

(*b*) Acts xxiii. 8.

† De bell. judaic. lib. ii. cap. viii. §. 14. p. 166.

in the bodies into which their souls were next sent.

It is supposed, that it was upon this notion the disciples asked our Lord, "Did this man sin, or his parents, that he was born blind (*a*)?" and that some said (*b*), Christ was "John the baptist, some Elias, others Jeremias, or one of the prophets *."

This was undoubtedly the opinion of the Pythagoreans † and Platonists ‡, and was embraced by some among the Jews; as by the author of the book of Wisdom, who says, "that being good he came into a body undefiled (*c*)."
Nevertheless it is questioned by some persons, whether the words of Josephus, before quoted, are a sufficient evidence of this doctrine of the metempsychosis being received by the whole sect of the Pharisees; for μεταβιβειν εις ετερον σωμα, passing into another or different body, may only denote its receiving a body at the resurrection; which will be another, not in substance, but in quality; as it is said of Christ at his transfiguration, το ειδος τε προσωπε αυτου ετερον, "the fashion of his countenance was" another, or as we render it, was "altered (*d*)."

As to the opinion, which some entertained concerning our Saviour, that he was either John the baptist, or Elias, or Jeremias, or one of

(*a*) John ix. 2.

(*b*) Matt. xvi. 14.

* See Prideaux's Connect. part. 2. book 5. sub anno 107, before Christ. vol. 3. p. 479, 480. edit. 10. London 1729.

† Diogen. Laert. de vitis Philosoph. lib. viii. de vitâ Pythag. Segm. 14. & not. Aldobrandini in loc. vol. 1. p. 499. edit. Amstel. 1692.

‡ Plato in Phædro. p. 1223. B, C, D, E, edit. Ficini. Francof. 1602. & Diogen. Laert. de Vitis Philos. lib. iii. de vitâ Platonis, Segm. 67. vol. 1. p. 204, 205.

(*c*) chap. viii. 20.

(*d*) Luke ix. 29.

Of the prophets (*a*), it is not ascribed to the Pharisees in particular; and if it were, I do not see how it could be founded on the doctrine of the metempsychosis; since the soul of Elias, now inhabiting the body of Jesus, would no more make him to be Elias, than several others had been, in whose bodies the soul of Elias, according to this doctrine, is supposed to have dwelt since the death of that ancient prophet near a thousand years before. Besides, how was it possible any person that saw Christ, who did not appear to be less than thirty years old, should according to the notion of the metempsychosis, conceit him to be John the baptist, who had been so lately beheaded. Surely this apprehension must be grounded on the supposition of a proper resurrection. It was probably, therefore, upon the same account, that others took him to be Elias, and others Jeremias. According St. Luke expresses it thus, “others say, that one of the old prophets is risen from the dead (*b*).”

It may further be observed, that the doctrine of the resurrection, which St. Paul preached, was not a present metempsychosis, but a real future resurrection, which he calls “the hope and resurrection of the dead (*c*).” This he professed as a Pharisee, and for this profession the partizans of that sect vindicated him against the Sadducees (*d*). Upon the whole therefore, it appears most reasonable to adopt the opinion of Reland, though in opposition to the sentiments of many other learned men, that
the

(*a*) Matt. xvi. 14.

(*b*) Luke ix. 19.

(*c*) Acts xxiii. 6.

(*d*) vér. 7,—9.

the Pharisees held the doctrine of the resurrection in a proper sense *.

Thus far their doctrinal opinions appear to have been agreeable to the scripture, excepting that one grand principle, that the traditions of the fathers came from God, and were at least upon an equal foot with the sacred writings. This was the root, the *πρωτον Ψευδος*, of various errors; from hence proceeded most of the corrupt practical dogmata of this sect: Which we are now

2dly, To consider. Hence, they gave so erroneous an interpretation of many texts of scripture, explaining them according to their traditions; which was the occasion of their transgressing the commandments of God, and making them of none effect (a).

Hence they fell into many very superstitious practices, in which they placed a great part of their religion; such as frequent washing their hands, and their household furniture, beyond what the law required (b); fasting twice a week (c); and if we may credit the talmud, practising many painful austerities and mortifications, whipping themselves, lying upon flints and thorns, and knocking their heads against walls till they made them bleed †.

Hence,

* Reland. Antiq. hebr. part ii cap. ix. §. 14. p. 278. edit. 3. Traject. Bat. 1717. Concerning the improbability of the Pharisees having held the doctrine of the metempsychosis in our Saviour's time see Buddei Historia eccles. vet. Testament. tom. ii. per. ii. p. 1203.

(a) Matt. xv. 3,—6.

(b) Mark vii. 3, 4.

(c) Luke xviii. 12.

† Mish. tit. Sotah, cap. 3. §. 4. sub fin. cum not. Bartenor. & Wagenfeil. Sotah, excerpt. Gemar. cap. 3. §. 11. Drusius de tribus sectis, lib. ii. cap. xiv. p. 71. edit.

Hence, being busied about trifles, and taken up with a multitude of rites and ceremonies, they forgot and neglected the great duties of morality. Thus, while they were superstitiously exact “in tything mint, anise, and cummin, they overlooked the weightier matters of the law, judgment, mercy and faith (a);” and by thus placing their religion in things wherein true religion does not consist, they in a manner lost all notion of spiritual piety and godliness, and became the most finished hypocrites among the Jews. Pharisees and hypocrites are often joined together in the gospel history; and several instances of their hypocrisy mentioned, namely, their fasting, almsgiving and making long prayers in the synagogues and even in corners of the streets on purpose “to be seen of men,” and to gain their applause; and “for a pretence, the better to cover their secret wickedness (b).” In short they placed the whole of religion in outward ceremonial observances, and therefore took no pains or care to get their hearts purified; they freely indulged their pride and malice and all other sorts of spiritual wickedness; on which account they are compared by our Saviour to whited sepulchres (c); and because they were very exact in their ritual observances, in which they abounded beyond others, they looked upon themselves to be more religious, and the peculiar favourites of heaven, and therefore “they trusted in themselves that they were righteous, and despised others

edit. 1. p. 253. edit. Trigland. Buxtorf. synag. judaic. cap. xxv. p. 521,—523. edit. 3. Basil. 1661. See Epiphanius, hæc. xvi. §. 1. tom. 1. p. 33, 34. edit. Petav.

(a) Matt. xxiii. 23. (b) Matt. vi. 2, 5, 16. xxiii. 5,—7, 14. (c) Matt. xxiii. 27.

others (*a*);” and their pride being thus fed, they affected pre-eminence and expected a greater share of respect than others (*b*). From the same criminal principle they “made broad their phylacteries, and enlarged the borders of their garments (*c*).”

The phylacteries, called by the Jews תפילין tephillin, are little scrolls of parchment, in which are written certain sentences of the law, inclosed in leather cases, and bound with thongs on the forehead and on the left arm. They are called in Greek φυλακτηρια, from φυλασσω custodio, either because they were supposed to preserve the law in memory, or rather, because they were looked upon as a kind of amulets or charms to keep them from danger. Godwin gives an account from the rabbies of the sentences of the law written in the phylacteries, and the manner of writing and folding them up, which is sufficiently exact *. I shall only observe, that the making and wearing these phylacteries, as the Jews still do in their private devotions, is owing to a misinterpretation of those texts †, on which they ground the practice, namely, God’s commanding them “to bind the law for a sign on their hands,” and to let it be as frontlets betwixt their eyes, &c (*d*). This precept evidently refers to the whole law of Moses, and not to the particular sentences which they wrote in their phylacteries (*e*). The command of writing
and

(*a*) Luke xviii. 9.

(*b*) Matt. xxiii. 6, 7.

(*c*) ver. 5.

* See Maimon. Tephillin, seu de Phylacteriis. Wagenfeil. Sotah, excerpt. Gemar. cap. ii. §. 2. not. 10. p 397, —418: Altdorf. 1674. and Surenhusii Tabulæ de Phylacteriis, prefixed to the first volume of his edition of the Mishna.

† See Le Clerc. on Exod. xiii. 9.

(*d*) Deut. vi. 8.

(*e*) See ver. 6.

and binding this law as a sign upon the hands, and as frontlets betwixt the eyes, ought doubtless to be understood metaphorically, as a charge to remember it, to meditate upon it, to have it as it were continually before their eyes, and to conduct their lives by it; as when Solomon says, concerning the commandments of God in general, “bind them about thy neck, write them upon the table of thy heart (a).” The precept therefore, which we are now considering, to “bind the words of the law for a sign upon the hands, and as frontlets betwixt the eyes (b),” is to be explained by the sentence which precedes it, “These words, which I commanded thee this day, shall be in thine heart.” In like manner it is said elsewhere; “Ye shall lay up my words in your hearts and in your souls (c).” However the Jews understanding the foregoing precept, not metaphorically but literally, wrote out the several passages wherever it occurs, and to which it seems to refer, and bound them upon their foreheads and upon their arms.

It seems the Pharisees used to “make broad” their phylacteries. This some understand of the knots of the thongs by which they were fastened, which were tied very artificially in the form of hebrew letters; and that the pride of the Pharisees induced them to have these knots larger than ordinary, as a peculiar ornament. Others supposed they affected to wear the phylacteries themselves very large, as if they contained more of the law than was commonly worn by their neighbours, and were therefore a testimony of their extraordinary affection for it.

It

(a) Prov. iii. 1, 3. vi. 21.

(b) Deut. vi. 8.

(c) Chap. xi. 18.

It is imagined by some persons, that the phylacteries are alluded to in the book of the Revelation (a), where the subjects of anti-christ are said to be distinguished by "a mark on their right hands and on their foreheads *."

The Pharisees are further said to "enlarge the borders of their garments," τα κρασπεδα των ιματιων (b). These κρασπεδα were the ציצית tfitstith, the fringes, which the Jews are, in the book of Numbers, commanded to wear upon the borders of their garments (c). The targum of Onkelos calls them כרוספדין cheruspedhin, which hath so near an affinity with the greek word κρασπεδος, that there is no doubt but it signifies the same thing; which is therefore an evidence, that the κρασπεδα were the ציצית tfitstith. These were worn by our Saviour, as appears from the following passages of St. Matthew, "Behold, a woman, which was diseased with an issue of blood twelve years, came behind him, and touched the hem of his garment," κρασπεδον τε ιματιου (d)." Again, the inhabitants of Gennefaret are said to have brought unto him their diseased, and to have "besought him, that they might only touch the hem of his garment," κρασπεδον τε ιματιου (e). Κρασπεδον τε ιματιου is, in both these passages, very improperly translated the "hem of his garment." It should have been rendered the

VOL. I.

G g

fringe;

(a) Rev. xiii. 16.

* See a large account of the superstition of the Jews concerning the phylacteries in Ainsworth on Exod. xiii. 9. Buxtorf's Synag. judaicâ, cap. ix. and Lexic. talmud. in voc. תפלה. Consult also on this subject Spenceri Dissert. de nat. & orig. Phylact. ad calcem. tom. 2. de legibus, edit. Cantab. 1727.

(b) See Matt. xxiii. 5. before-cited.

(c) Numb. xv.

38, 39.

(d) Matt. ix. 20.

(e) Matt. xiv. 36.

fringe; and it should seem the people imagined there was some peculiar virtue or sanctity in the fringe of our Saviour's garment above any other part, from their expectation of a miraculous cure by touching it. It appears indeed, the later Jews placed a great deal of sanctity in these fringes. Rabbi Menachem on the fifteenth chapter of Numbers, saith, when any man is cloathed with a fringe, and goeth out therewith to the door of his habitation, he is safe, and God rejoiceth, and the destroying angel departeth from thence, and that man shall be delivered from all hurt, and from all destruction*.

Concerning the form of this fringe, we can only frame an uncertain guess from the two hebrew words by which it is expressed; namely, **צִיצִית** *tsitsith* (*a*), and **גְּדִילִים** *gedhilim* (*b*), which is likewise rendered by the chaldee paraphrast **כְּרוּסְפֶּדְחִין** *cheruspedhin*. The former, *tsitsith*, is used for a lock of hair (*c*), the latter for a rope, such a Dalilah bound Sampson with (*d*). From hence it is inferred, that these fringes consisted of many threads, which hung like hair, and were twisted like a rope. It was, also ordered by the law, that they should put upon the fringe a ribband of blue, or a thread, as the word **פֶּתִיל** *pathil*, seems to be properly rendered in a passage of the book of Judges, where it is said concerning Sampson, that he "broke the withs" with which he was bound, "as a thread **פֶּתִיל** *pethil*, of tow is broken when it toucheth the fire (*e*):" or else it may signify lace, as it

* R. Menachem on Numb. xv. quoted by Ainsworth on Numb. xv. 39.

(*a*) Numb. xv. 38, 39.

(*b*) Deut. xxii. 12.

(*c*) Ezek. viii. 3.

(*d*) Judg. xvi. 11, 12.

(*e*) Judg. xvi. 9.

it is rendered in a passage of the book of Exodus (*a*), where the string, which fastened the holy crown to the high-priest's mitre, is expressed by the same word used for this blue thread, or lace, upon the fringe of their garments. Whether, therefore, it was a blue thread twisted with a white through the whole fringe; whether it was a blue lace, by which the fringe was fastened to the edge of the garment, or whether it was sewed along the head of the fringe, is what we cannot take upon us to determine.

The use of this fringe is said to be, "that they might look upon it, and remember all the commandments of the Lord and do them (*b*)."

Some conceive the fringe was to be a distinguishing badge, which God ordered the people of Israel to wear on their clothes, in the nature of a livery, that they might be known for his servants, who was not ashamed to own them for his peculiar people; as he had before, for the same purpose, ordered them to wear a distinguishing mark in their flesh, namely, circumcision. This account well agrees with the reason given for their wearing the fringe, "that they might look upon it, and remember all the commandments of the Lord to do them:" that is, that it might remind them, that as the servants of Jehovah whose livery they wore, they were bound to do all that he had commanded them. And as by this badge they were to be distinguished from the servants of all other gods, so it was to be a guard upon them from idolatry; accordingly it follows, "that ye seek

G g 2

not

(*a*) Exod. xxxix. 31.(*b*) Numb. xv. 39.

not after your own hearts,' and your own eyes, after which you used to go a whoring."

Le Clerc * indeed suggests, that the Jews borrowed this fashion of wearing fringes from the Egyptians, because Herodotus, speaking of the Egyptians, says, *ενδεδυκασι κιθωνας λινεις περι τα σκελεα θυσσανας*: *induli sunt tunicis lineis circa crura fimbriatis* †. But why might it not as well be supposed, the Egyptians learnt it from the Jews, as the Jews from the Egyptians?

After all there are some, Calvin in particular ‡, who suppose these fringes to be nothing but strings, with tassels, at the four corners of their upper garment, which was made of a square piece of cloth, in the same fashion that was afterwards worn by the Greeks and Romans.

This opinion very well agrees with the precept in Deuteronomy, "Thou shalt make thee fringes upon the four quarters," wings as the margin renders it, or rather corners "of thy vesture, wherewith thou coverest thyself (a)." And the proper use of these strings was to tie the corners together. Such strings the modern Jews have to their veils, and each string has five knots in it, besides the tassel, signifying the five books of the law. The rabbies observe, that each string consists of eight threads, which added to five, the number of knots, and likewise to the numeral value of the letters in the word

* Clerici Annot in Num. xv. 38.

† Herodot. Enterp. cap. 81. p. 118. edit. Gronov. Lib. 2. Bat. 1716.

‡ Calvini Comment. in Deut. xxii. 12. oper. tom. 1. p. 522. Amstel. 1671.

(a) Deut. xxii. 12.

word תצית ttitfith, amounts to six hundred and thirteen, the number, according to them, of the precepts of the law. From hence they infer the importance of the command concerning the תצית ttitfith, he who observes it, they say, in effect observing the whole law *.

The Pharisees are censured by our Saviour for enlarging these fringes of their garments, which, we may suppose, they did partly from pride, and partly hypocrisy, as pretending thereby an extraordinary regard for the law. It is reported by Jerom, as quoted by Godwin, that they used to have fringes extravagantly long, sticking thorns in them, that by pricking their legs as they walked, they might put them in mind of the law †.

From the same corrupt fountain whence we have derived the other superstitions and corruptions of the Pharisees, even their attachment to the traditions, we may also trace their most unreasonable and malicious opposition to our Saviour. For having learnt to interpret the prophecies of the Messiah in a carnal sense, and being strongly tinctured with the notion of his being designed to be a temporal prince and deliverer, no miracles could overcome their prejudices against the meanness of Christ's appearance, and persuade them that a person,

G g 3

who

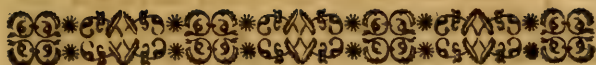
* Buxtorf. Synag. jud. cap. ix. p. 164. edit. 3. Basil. 1661. & Lex. Talmud. in voc. תצית.

† Concerning the fringes see Ainsworth on Numb. xv. 38, 39, Deut. xxii. 12. Buxtorfi synag. judaic. cap. ix. p. 160,—170. & Lexic. Talmud. in voc. תצית. Drusius de sectis Judæor. lib. ii. cap. xvi. p. 267. edit. Trigland. & Leusden. Philolog. hebræo-mixt. dissert. xvii. p. 118, 119. edit. 2. Ultraject. 1682.

who made no pretence to civil authority and military power, could possibly be “Messiah, the prince,” the “son of David and the Saviour of Israel.” They got him, therefore, apprehended, condemned and executed as an impostor*.

* See an account of the Pharisees in Drusus *de tribus sectis Judæorum*, lib. ii. cap. xii.—ult. in Lightfoot, *horæ hebr.* Matt. iii. 7. in Basnage’s history of the Jews, book ii. chap. 10, 11. in Clerici *Ecclesiast. histor. prolegom.* sect. i. cap. ii. p. 5,—12. and in Hydeaux’s *Connect.* part 2. book 3. vol. 3. p. 479,—483. edit. 10.





C H A P. XI.

Of the Sadducees and Samaritans.

AS for the Sadducees, Epiphanius derives the name from קדש *tsedhek*, justitia *; but that derivation neither suits the word Sadducee, nor the true character of the sect. For so far were they from being eminently righteous, that they are commonly said to be the most wicked and profligate of all the Jews; neither were they given to boast of their own righteousness, as the Pharisees were.

Another etymology, which Theophylact mentions together with the former †, is therefore esteemed to be the more probable one; that their name was derived *απο αἱρεσιζήτου Σαδουκ*. This he borrowed from the Talmud, which tells us, that Sadoc was a scholar of Antigonus Sochæus, president of the sanhedrim about 260 years before Christ; who having inculcated upon his scholars, that they ought to

G g 4

serve

* Epiphanius adversus Hæres. lib. i. hæres xiv. p. 31. C. edit. Petav. Colon. 1682.

† Theophylact. Comment. in Matt. iii. 7. p. 18.

serve God out of pure love to him, and not in a servile manner, either for fear of punishment or hope of reward; Sadoc, not understanding this spiritual doctrine, concluded there was no future state of rewards and punishments, and accordingly taught and propagated that error after his master's death *. However that be, (for I must confess with me talmudical stories have but little credit) this is said to have been the doctrine of the Sadducees. That they denied the resurrection, and that there are angels and spirits, appears from the account given of them in the New Testament (a). According to Josephus, they rejected the traditions of the Pharisees †; they not only denied the resurrection of the body, but the life and existence of the soul after death; they likewise denied all divine decrees, and held that man was absolutely master of his own actions, with a full freedom to do either good or evil as he thought proper; that God did not influence him in doing either; and that his prosperity or adversity are placed within his own power, and are respectively the effect of his wisdom or his folly ‡; a notion, which in effect amounts to denying a providence, and to the subversion of all religion. So that they were upon the whole, epicurean deists in all other respects, except that they acknowledged the world to have been created; and perhaps to be upheld and preserv-
ed

* Mishn. tit. Pirke Abhoth, cap. 1. §. 3. & Maimon. in loc. See Lightfoot, Horæ hebraic. in Acts xxiii. 8.

(a) Matt. xxii. 23. Acts xxiii. 8.

† Joseph. Antiq. lib. xiii. cap. x. §. 6. p. 663. Antiq. lib. xviii. cap. i. §. 4. p. 871. edit. Haverc.

‡ Antiq. lib. xviii. cap. i. §. 4. p. 871. De bello judaic. lib. ii. cap. viii. §. 14. p. 166. Antiq. lib. xiii. cap. v. §. 9. p. 649.

ed by God. This historian gives them a very bad character as to their morals, and says, "they were a set of men churlish and morose toward each other, and cruel and savage to all besides *." However, we must remember, that Josephus himself was a Pharisee, of an opposite sect, and that such persons are very apt, from their mutual aversion, to misrepresent and calumniate each other. Perhaps his account of the Sadducees is not without some tincture of pharisaical misrepresentation; for it can hardly be supposed, that men of such very corrupt principles, as he represents them, should continue uncensured and uncondemned by the sanhedrim, much less, be suffered to fill the highest posts in church and state; as we find they did, it appearing, that Caiaphas the high-priest, who condemned our Saviour, was of this sect (a). Besides, the character given them by this historian, is altogether inconsistent with their receiving, which all admit they did, the five books of Moses, even though it were true, that they rejected all the other sacred books; which Godwin lays to their charge, but from which Scaliger endeavours to exculpate them †. Indeed the silence of Josephus, renders this charge upon them justly suspected; for though he often mentions them, and loads them with imputations of many corrupt principles and practices, yet he never speaks of their rejecting any part of the holy scriptures; which no doubt he would have done, if it had been fact. Nay, he says, that though they rejected the traditions of the fathers, they re-

ceived.

* De bello judaico. lib. ii. cap. viii. §. 14. p. 166.

(a) Acts v. 17.

† Elench. Trihæres. cap. xvi.

ceived τα γεγραμμενα, the written books *; an expression too general, and too much in their favour, to have flowed from his pen, if he could with any plausibility have accused them of rejecting any one of them. And even in the talmud the Sadducees are introduced as disputing and arguing from passages in the prophets, and the Pharisees as answering them from the same books †; which implies that those books were received by them; nor are they ever accused by any of the ancient rabbies with rejecting them. Some of them indeed stiled them כות"ם chuthiim, which is another name for the Samaritans. But, perhaps, that was only as a term of reproach, which the Jews bestowed upon those whom they hated; as upon our Saviour, who, they said, was "a Samaritan, and had a devil (a)." However, the Samaritans admitting only the five books of Moses to be canonical, hence it hath come to pass, that the Sadducees being by the rabbies sometimes stiled כות"ם chuthiim, or Samaritans, hath been the occasion, without sufficient reason, of the Sadducees being supposed, as well as the Samaritans, to have rejected all the writings of the Old Testament, except those of Moses. Scaliger's opinion seems

* Antiq. lib. xiii. cap. x. §. 6. p. 663. Διὸν ἔκριναι δὴν ἡγεῖσθαι νομίμα τα γεγραμμενα, τα δ' ἐκ παραδοσεως των πατριων μη τηρειν. The word νομίμα is here applied to τα γεγραμμενα the whole scripture, as opposed to tradition; and the word νομων seems to be used in the same comprehensive sense, lib. xviii. cap. i. §. 4. p. 871.

† Cod. Sanhedrin, cap. Chelek ab init. Vid. Reland. Antiq. part. ii. cap. ix. § x. p. 273. edit. 3. Sadducæi testimonium citant contra resurrectionem ex Job vii. 9. in Ilmedenu, fol. 2. col. 4. inquit Drusius, de tribus sectis Judæor. lib. iii. cap. ix. in margin. See especially Lightfoot, Horæ hebraicæ. John iv. 25.

(a) John viii. 48.

seems to be more probable, that they did not reject the prophets and the hagiographa, but only expounded them in a different sense from the Pharisees and other Jews*.

It is a question of some difficulty, how the Sadducees could disbelieve the existence of angels, and yet receive even the five books of Moses as canonical scripture, wherein are so many narratives of the appearance of angels. Probably their opinion concerning angels was, that they were not permanent beings, but temporary phantoms; formed by the divine power for particular purposes, and dissipated again when these were answered.

In the time of Josephus this sect was not large, but is said to be the richest; and that those of the greatest quality and opulence generally belonged to it†; which we can easily credit, as we observe in our day, that the great and rich are apt to prefer the pleasure and grandeur of this life to any expectancy in a future; and greedily to embrace such doctrines as tend to encourage their luxury and sensuality, by ridding their minds of uneasy reflections on the judgment-day and world to come‡.

* Scaliger, ubi supra. Drusius de tribus sectis Judæor. lib. iii. cap. ix. & Respons. ad Serar. Minerv. lib. ii. cap. xi. Reland. Antiq. part. ii. cap. ix. §. x. p. 273.

† Joseph. Antiq. lib. xiii. cap. x. §. 6. p. 663. lib. xviii. cap. i. §. 4. p. 871.

‡ See an account of the Sadducees, not only in the authors before-cited, but in Le Clerc's Histor. Eccles. prolegom. Sect. i. cap. iii. p. 12,—15. Basnage's history of the Jews, book ii. chap. vi, vii. Bayle's dictionary, article Sadducees; and Lightfoot, horæ hebr. Matt. iii. 7.

Of the Samaritans.

With the Sadducees Godwin joins the Samaritans, with whom he says they have a near affinity; that is, on supposition of their rejecting all the sacred writings but the five books of Moses; which Origen*, Jerom† and Epiphanius‡ say the Samaritans did.

The Samaritans were originally heathens, consisting of persons of several nations, to whom the king of Assyria gave the cities and lands of the Israelites upon the Assyrian captivity. They were called Samaritans from the city Samaria, the metropolis of the kingdom of Israel. When they first settled in the country, they practised only the idolatrous rites of the several nations from whence they came; but upon being infested with lions, which they supposed a judgment upon them for not paying due honour to the ancient God of the country, the king of Assyria sent a Jewish priest to instruct them in the worship of Jehovah; upon which out of the several customs and modes of worship of the nations to which they belonged, and the rites of the worship of Jehovah, they made up a very motley religion (a). Upon the return of the Jews from the Babylonish captivity, and the rebuilding

* Origen. contra Celsum, lib. i. p. 38. edit. Cantab. 1677. Comment. in Johan. apud Comment. in scripturas, part. posterior. p. 218. edit. Huet. Colon. 1685.

† Hieron. in Dialogo adversus Luciferianos, as quoted by Prideaux, part i. book vi. anno 409 ante Christum, vol. 2. p. 597.

‡ Epiphanius. adversus Hæres. lib. 1. hæres. ix. Samarit. §. ii. tom. 1. p. 24. edit. Petav. Colon. 1682.

(a) 2 Kings xvii. 24, & seq.

rebuilding Jerusalem and the temple; the religion of the Samaritans received another alteration on the following occasion. One of the sons of Jehoiada the high-priest, whom Josephus calls Manasseh*, married the daughter of Sanballat the Horonite; but the law of God having forbidden the intermarriages of the Israelites with any other nation, Nehemiah set himself to reform this corruption, which had spread into many Jewish families; and obliged all that had taken strange wives immediately to part with them (a). Manasseh, unwilling to quit his wife, fled to Samaria; and many others, who were in the same case with him, being also of the same mind, went and settled under the protection of Sanballat, governor of Samaria. From that time the worship of the Samaritans came much nearer to that of the Jews; and they afterward obtained leave of Alexander the great to build a temple on mount Gerizim, near the city Samaria, in imitation of the temple at Jerusalem; where they practiced the same forms of worship. It is very common for people, who are nearly, but not intirely, of the same religion, to have a greater aversion to one another, than those whose sentiments and forms of worship are more different. So it was with the Jews and Samaritans. Hence it was the highest term of reproach among the Jews to call a person a Samaritan, as was before observed; and so great was their mutual animosity, that they would neither ask, nor receive, any favours from each other. The woman of Samaria therefore wondered, that Christ, “being a Jew,

* Joseph. Antiq. lib. xi. cap. viii. §. 1, 2. p. 578, 579.
(a) Nehem. xiii. 23,—30.

Jew, would ask drink of her who was a Samaritan (a).” And when our Lord had occasion to pass through Samaria, as he was going to Jerusalem to keep one of the annual feasts at the temple, the Samaritans would give him no entertainment on his journey, not merely because he was a Jew, but because, designing to keep the feast at Jerusalem, he plainly preferred that temple above theirs (b). As to what Godwin advances, that the Samaritans allowed of no commerce with the Jews, which he grounds on the forecited passage concerning the surprize of the woman of Samaria, that Christ, being a Jew, asked drink of her, who was a Samaritan; and its being added as the reason of this, “for the Jews have no dealings with, *οὐ συγγράμνται*, the Samaritans (c);” I say, the opinion that the Samaritans permitted no kind of commerce with the Jews, is evidently confuted, by our being informed, that while this conversation passed between our Saviour and the woman, “the disciples were gone into the city” of Samaria, “to buy meat (d).” Nothing can be meant, therefore, by *οὐ συγγράμνται*, but that they would have no friendly intercourse, nor perform acts of mutual civility*.

(a) John iv. 9.

(b) Luke ix. 52, 53.

(c) John iv. 9.

(d) ver. 8.

* See concerning the Samaritans, Reland. Dissertat. miscellan. vol. 2. Dissert. vii. de Samaritanis. Prideaux's Connect. part. i. book 6. sub anno 409. ante Christum.



C H A P. XII.

Of the E S S E N E S.

THE Essenes, though no notice is taken of them, at least by name, in any part of the scripture history, were yet a considerable sect among the Jews, of whom both Josephus and Philo have given a large account; the former in the twelfth chapter of his second book of the jewish war, where he professedly treats of the three principal sects of the Jews, the Pharisees, the Sadducees and the Essenes. He likewise speaks of them occasionally in several other parts of his works. Philo in his book, entituled, *Omnis probus liber* *, gives a very particular account of the dogmata and manners of this sect, nearly, though not quite, the same with that of Josephus. It is very possible there might be some little difference betwixt the Essenes in Egypt and those in Judea; and Philo, who was an alexandrian jew, was acquainted only with the former, Josephus, an inhabitant of Judea, only with the latter. Pliny, the natural historian,

* See also Philo de vitâ contemplativâ.

torian, hath left us some account of the Essenes in the seventeenth chapter of the fifth book of his history *.

These are the only ancient writers, who speak of the Essenes, on whose narratives, as they were contemporary with them, we may depend. As for what Epiphanius, and other ancient and modern authors, have said of them, it can only be by conjecture, any further than they have taken their materials from those abovementioned.

The etymology of the name has given grammarians and criticks no little trouble. Josephus is silent upon it. Philo derives it from *osios*, holy, because of the extraordinary sanctity of the Essenes, though he confesses that derivation is not grammatical †. Epiphanius goes the furthest for the etymology, of any, deriving the name from Jesse the father of David ‡. Salmasius fetches it from a city called *Essa*, mentioned by Josephus, from whence he imagines this sect first sprung §. Serarius hath given us, at least, a dozen different etymologies ||. So various and uncertain are the conjectures of the learned on this subject.

Godwin derives it from the Syriac word *NDN asa*, which signifies to heal or cure, because

* The several accounts are inserted at large in Dr. Prideaux's connection, part 2. book 5. sub fin.

† Philo in tractat. Omnis probus liber, oper. p. 678. C. Colon. Allobr. 1613. Vid. Serar. Trihæres. lib. iii. cap. 1. p. 109. J. Scaliger. Elench. Trihæres. Serar. cap. xviii. in init.

‡ Epiphan. Hæres. xix. lib. i. tom. ii. §. iv. p. 120. edit. Petav.

§ Salmas. Plinian. exercitat. in Solinum. cap. 35. p. 432. edit. Ultraject.

|| Serar. Trihæres. Judæor. lib. iii. cap. i. p. 106,—110. edit. Tringland. 1703.

cause Philo calls those of the Essenes, who devoted themselves to a contemplative life, *θεραπευται* *therapeutæ*, which is naturally derived from *θεραπειν*, *fanare*; yet not, as Godwin erroneously says, because they studied physic, according to the common acceptation of that word; but because, saith Philo, they cure men's souls of those diseases which they have contracted by their passions and vices. Or otherwise, as he adds, they have this name, because they have learnt to worship and serve that being, who is better than good, more uncompounded than the number one, and more ancient than unity itself*: for the word *θεραπευτης*, signifies a worshipper or servant, as well as a physician †.

These *therapeutæ* are distinguished from those, whom Philo calls practical Essenes, who were employed in the labours of husbandry and other mechanic arts; though only in such as belonged to peace, for none of them would ever put their hands to the making swords, or arrows, or any other instruments of war ‡.

Both Josephus and Philo give a surprising account of their austere way of life. Their houses were mean; their cloaths made of wool without any dye; they never changed their cloaths or shoes, till they were quite worn out; their food was plain and coarse, and their drink water; they neglected all bodily ornaments, and would by no means anoint themselves with

VOL. I. H h


* Philo de vitâ contemplativâ, ab init. oper. p. 688. B. C. Valesius, in his notes on Eusebius's Ecclef. Histor. lib. ii. cap. xvii. p. 66. not. 3. endeavours to prove against Scaliger, that the *Therapeutæ*, so largely described by Philo, are not to be reckoned in the number of the Essenes.

† Vid. Lexic. Constantin. in verb.

‡ Philo. tractat. Quod omnis probus liber, oper. p. 678. E, D.

oil, according to the fashion of those times. Nay, if any one of them happened to be appointed against his will, he would presently wipe off the oil, and wash himself, as from some pollution. They lived in sodalities, and had all their goods in common; their morals were very exact and pure, and they kept the sabbath more strictly than any of the Jews*.

In the account which Godwin gives of the dogmata of this sect, collected from Josephus and Philo, he asserts, that the Pythagoreans forbade oaths, and so, saith he, did the Essenes†. But this, I apprehend, is a mistake as to the Pythagoreans, and perhaps also, as to the Essenes. The former, it is well known, used an oath on important occasions, and held it to be most sacred; swearing by the number four, which they wrote by ten dots in the form of a triangle; so that each side consisted of four

dots, thus: . Some have imagined Pythagoras took the hint of this from the Nomen Tetragrammaton of the Jews‡; and that having likewise acquired some notion of the trinity, he intended to express it by the triangle, which is called his Trigonon mysticum.

As for the Essenes, Josephus saith, that before any are admitted to eat at the common table, they bind themselves by solemn oath to observe the rules of the society §. Godwin

* Philo ubi supra, p. 678,—680. Joseph. de bello judaic. lib. ii. cap. viii. §. 2,—13. p. 160,—165.

† Joseph. de bell. jud. ubi supra, §. 6. Philo. ubi supra, p. 679. C.

‡ Diog. Laert. in vitâ Pythag. lib. viii. Segm. 33. Lucian. Dialog. Vitarum Auctio, oper. tom. 3. p. 103. cum annot. Cognati, p. 131. edit. Basil. & Galei Philosoph. General. lib. ii. cap. iii. §. 2. p. 173, 175.

§ Joseph. de bell. ubi supra, §. 7. p. 163. In the former

Godwin likewise maintains, that the Pythagoreans used only inanimate sacrifices ; and so saith he, did the Essenes ; they sent gifts to the temple, but did not sacrifice. But how will this account of the Pythagoreans agree with the story mentioned by Diogenes Laertius and others *, that Pythagoras himself sacrificed a hecatomb, upon his discovering what is called the pythagoric theorem, namely, that in a right-angled triangle, the square of the hypotenuse is equal to the sum of the squares of the sides ? As for the Essenes it is not easy to reconcile their not using animal sacrifices with the profound veneration which they professed for the five books of Moses, in which so many animal sacrifices are enjoined. Josephus indeed saith, they send their gifts, *αναθηματα*, to the temple, but offer no sacrifices there by reason of the different rules of purity, which they have instituted among themselves. And therefore, being excluded the common temple, they sacrifice apart by themselves ; *τας θυσιας επιτελεσι* : the word *θυσιας* imports animal sacrifices, that were slain †.

H h 2

3dly,

mer passage §. 6. his expression is, *το δε ομνύναι αυτοις περυσιαται, χειρον τι της επιορχιας υπολαμβανοντες*, though here he saith, *πριν δε της κοινης αψαδαι τροφης, ορκης αυτοις ομνυσθαι φρικωδεις, κ. τ. λ.* And in §. 8. he speaks of them as *τοις ορκοις και τοις εδεσι ενδεδεμενοι*, and the like in other places.

* Diog. Laert. de vitis Philosophorum, lib. viii. vit. Pythagor. Segm. 12. p. 497. Amstel. 1692. Cicero represents Cotta as giving no credit to this story, because, as he apprehends, Pythagoras never used animal sacrifices. Cicer. de naturâ Deorum, lib. iii. cap. 36. But it is related also by Athenæus, Deipnosoph. lib. x. p. 418. F. edit. Casaub. 1598. See also Plutarch. in comment. Non posse suaviter vivi secundum Epicur. oper. tom. 2. p. 1094. B. Francof. 1620.

† Joseph. Antiq. lib. xviii. cap. i. §. 5. p. 871. Yet Dr. Ibbotson

3dly, Godwin saith, the Essenes worship towards the rising sun ; and this he grounds on a passage in Josephus ; on the authority of which some have charged them with worshipping the sun itself. The words are, Προς γε μὴν το θειον ιδίως ευσέβεις· πριν γαρ ανασχειν τον Ηλιον, εδεν δεγ- γονται των βεβηλων, παλεις δε τινας εις αυτον ευχας, ωσπερ ικετευοντες αναλειλαι*. If Ηλιον, indeed, be the antecedent to αυτον, it must imply that they prayed to the sun itself. But this is not necessarily the construction ; for though το θειον, which is of the neuter gender, cannot be the antecedent to αυτον, yet αυτον may very well be supposed to agree with θεον understood †. Accordingly Dr. Prideaux translates the words thus, “ They are, in whatever pertaineth to God, in an especial manner religious ; for before the sun is risen, they speak of no common worldly matter, but till then offer up unto God their prayers in ancient forms, received from their predecessors ; supplicating particularly in them, that he would make the sun to rise upon them.” If this criticism be not admitted, it is nevertheless much more easy to suppose an error in the copy, αυτον for αυτο, than that the Essenes, who had a more than ordinary zeal for the law of Moses, should be guilty of such gross idolatry as to worship the sun.

There

Ibbotson (see his note in loc.) renders the words, εφ' αυτων τας θυσιας επιτελουσιν, very differently from the translation used above, which is that of Dr. Prideaux ; his version is, in seipsis sacrificia peragunt, i. e. sese ipsos Deo vovebant & consecrabant. edit. Haverc.

* Joseph. De bello judaic. lib. ii. cap. viii. §. 5. p. 161, 162.

† See Waehneri Antiquitates Eboror. vol. 2. Sect. vii. cap. v. §. 62. p. 775, 776. Gottingæ, 1742.

There was a notion first started by Eusebius *, and eagerly embraced by many roman catholicks †, that the Therapeutæ were christi-an asceticks or monks, converted and instituted by St. Mark: Which improbable suggestion Godwin refutes by the following arguments: In Philo's treatise concerning the Therapeutæ, or de vitâ contemplativâ, there is no mention of Christ or Christians, the evangelists or apostles: Again, the Therapeutæ are not mentioned as a new sect, as the Christians then were; on the contrary, he styles their doctrine "a philosophy derived to them by tradition from their forefathers;" and saith, "they have the commentaries of the ancients, who were the authors of this sect ‡:" Again, the inscription of Philo's treatise is not only *περι βίης θεωρητικῆς*, but also *περι ἱκετῶν ἀρετῶν*, and Philo elsewhere calling the whole jewish nation *ἱκετικὸν γένος* §, it may from hence be inferred, that the Therapeutæ were Jews, not Christians ||. However, it is not impossible, that some of these jewish Therapeutæ, becoming Christians, might still affect their former recluse way of living, and being imitated by others, might give the first occasion to monkery among Christians.

We have no guide, to enable us to discover the origin of this sect. Pliny, indeed, saith,

H h 3

though

* Euseb. Eccles. histor. lib. ii. cap. xvii. p. 66. ad fin. capitis.

† Serarii Trihæres. lib. iiii. cap. xvii.

† Philo de vitâ contemplativâ, oper. p. 691. C.

§ Philo de Legation, §. iii. cap. xviii. ad Caium, ab init.

|| See this opinion of Eusebius, well confut.d likewise by Valesius, Euseb. Eccles. hist. lib. ii. cap. xvii. p. 68. not. 1. edit. Reading, Cantab. 1720. and by Scaliger in his Elenchus Trihæres. Serarii, cap. xxix.

though we know not upon what authority, that it had subsisted for several thousand years *. The most probable opinion is, that it begun a little before the time of the Maccabees, when the faithful Jews were forced to fly from the cruel persecution of their enemies, into desarts and caves; and by living in those retreats many of them being habituated to retirement, which thereby became most agreeable to them, they chose to continue it, even when they might have appeared upon the publick stage again, and accordingly formed themselves into recluses. As to the numbers of which this sect consisted, Philo and Josephus agree that in Judea there were about four thousand; but in Egypt Philo makes the number of them to be much larger †.

The absolute silence of the evangelical history concerning the Essenes is by some accounted for from their eremitic life, which secluded them from places of publick resort; so that they did not come in the way of our Saviour, as the Pharisees and Sadducees often did.

Others are of opinion, that the Essenes, being very honest and sincere, without guile or hypocrisy, gave no room for the reproofs and censures, which the other Jews deserved; and therefore no mention is made of them.

But though they are not expressly mentioned in any of the sacred books, it is supposed, and not without reason, that they are referred to by St. Paul in the second chapter of his epistle to the Colossians: “ Let no man, faith

* Plin. histor. natur. lib. v. cap. 17.

† Philo in Tractat. Quod omnis probus liber, oper. p. 678. C. Et de vitâ contemplativâ, p. 690. E. Joseph. Antiq. lib. xviii. cap. 1. §. 5.

faith he, beguile you of your reward, in a voluntary humility, and worshipping of angels, intruding into those things, which he hath not seen, vainly puffed up by his fleshly mind :— which things have indeed a shew of wisdom, in will-worship and humility, and neglecting of the body (a).” What is here said of a voluntary humility, and neglecting the body, is in a peculiar manner applicable to the Essenes; and by Josephus it appears, that they had something peculiar among them relating to the angels; for he saith, “ that when they received any into their number, they made them solemnly swear, that they would keep and observe the books of the sect, and the names of the angels with care *.” What is said of “ intruding into things not seen,” is likewise agreeable to the character of the therapeutic essenes, who placing the excellence of their contemplative life in raising their minds to invisible objects, pretended to such a degree of abstraction and elevation, as to be able to dive into the nature of angels, and assign them proper names, or rightly interpret those already given them; and likewise to pry into futurity and foretel things to come †. Upon which it is highly probable, “ they were vainly puffed up by their fleshly mind.” Moreover the dogmata to which St. Paul refers in the following words, “ Touch not, taste not, handle not (b),” are such as the Essenes held; who would not taste any pleasant food, but lived upon coarse bread, and drank

H h 4

nothing

(a) Coloss. ii. 18, 23.

* Joseph. de bello judaic. lib. ii. cap. viii. §. 7. sub fin. p. 163.

† Joseph. de bello judaic. lib. ii. cap. viii. §. 12. p. 165.

(b) ver. 21.

nothing but water *; and some of them would not taste any food at all till after sun set †, and who, if they were touched by any that were not of their own sect, would wash themselves, as after some great pollution ‡. Perhaps there might be a sodality of Essenes at Coloss, as there were in many other places out of Judea; and that some of the Christians, too much inclined to Judaism, might also affect the peculiarities of this sect; which might be the reason of the apostle's so particularly cautioning against them §.

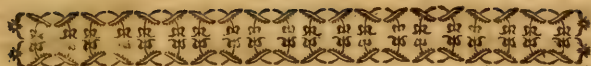
* Philo de vitâ contemplativâ, p. 692. B. p. 696. D.

† Philo, ubi supra, p. 692. A.

‡ Joseph. ubi supra, §. 10. p. 164.

§ Concerning the Essenes, besides the references above, see Serarii Trihæresis, Drusus de tribus sectis Judæor. Scaliger's Elenchus Trihæres. Serarii; Clerici Prolegom. ad histor. Eccles. sect. i. cap. iv, v. p. 16,—29. and Basnage's history of the Jews, book 2. chap. 12, 13.





C H A P. XIII.

Of the Gaulonites and Herodians.

THE Gaulonites were not a religious sect, but a political faction, raised up and headed by Judas of Galilee, who is mentioned in the fifth chapter of the Acts (*a*). Josephus calls him *Ιουδας Γαυλανιτης* in the first chapter of the eighteenth book of his antiquities *; yet in the title or contents of that chapter, and in the fifth chapter of the twentieth book, he is styled *Ιουδας τῷ Γαλιλαίῳ* †. Judas the Gaulonite, therefore, and Judas of Galilee were the same person; indifferently called by one or the other of those names, because Gaulona, his native country, which lay beyond Jordan, was otherwise called Galilee, or Galilee of the gentiles (*b*), to distinguish it from the other Galilee on this side Jordan.

This Judas, it seems, had raised and headed an insurrection against the roman government, on occasion of the tax which Augustus levied on Judea, when he reduced it into the form of
a roman

(*a*) Acts v. 37.

* §. 1. p. 869. edit. Haverc.

† §. 2. p. 965.

(*b*) Matt. iv. 15. & alibi.

474 Of the Gaulonites & Herodians. B. I.

a roman province *. This party was soon suppressed, and we read no more of it in the New Testament; unless, perhaps, as Godwin conjectures, those persons were some of this faction, otherwise called Galileans, whom Pilate slew as they were performing the sacred rites at the altar, and thereby mingled their blood with their sacrifices (*a*).

As for the Herodians, they are passed over in silence both by Josephus and Philo, and only known by being mentioned in three passages of the New Testament history. We find them combined with the Pharisees in endeavouring to entangle our Saviour with that ensnaring question, "Whether it was lawful to give tribute to Cesar (*b*)."

We read of the Pharisees taking council with the Herodians against Jesus, how they might destroy him (*c*); and we hear our Lord charging his disciples to take heed and beware of the leaven of the Pharisees, and of Herod: which is commonly understood of the sect of the Herodians, who derived their name from Herod (*d*). This account of the Herodians is so concise, that it hath left room for almost numberless conjectures concerning them.

Some make them to be a political party, others a religious sect. The first opinion is favoured by the Syriac version, which every where styles the Herodians, the domestics of Herod; and it is alledged, that the author of this version,

* Joseph. de bello judaic. lib. ii. cap. viii. §. 1. p. 160. Antiq. lib. xvii. cap. ult. §. ult. & lib. xviii. cap. 1. §. 1. p. 867, 869, 870.

(*a*) Luke xiii. 1.

(*b*) Matt. xxii, 16, 17.

(*c*) Mark iii. 6.

(*d*) Mark viii. 15.

sion, as he was nearly cotemporary with them had the best means of knowing who they were. It is likewise argued, that they could not be a religious sect, because Josephus, who professedly gives an account of the several religious sects of the Jews, neither on that occasion nor on any other, makes any mention of the Herodians. On the other hand, in favour of the opinion that they were a religious sect, it is pleaded, that our Saviour's cautioning his disciples against the leaven of Herod, implies, that the Herodians were distinguished from the other Jews by some doctrinal tenets, leaven being explained by our Saviour himself to signify doctrine (*a*).

It is probable the truth lies betwixt these two opinions, or rather comprehends them both.

The notion, that the Herodians were a set of people who held Herod to be the Messiah, which is espoused by Tertullian*, Epiphanius†, Jerom‡, Chrysostom§, and Theophylact|| among the ancients, and by Grotius §§, as well as others of the moderns, is without sufficient foundation, and highly improbable; whether we understand it to be meant of Herod the great, who died soon after our Saviour was born; or of Herod Antipas, who reigned at the

(*a*) See Matt. xvi. 6, 12.

* Tertullian. de Præscriptione Hæreticor. cap. xlv. sub fin. oper. p. 219. B. edit. Rigalt. Paris 1675.

† Epiphani. adversus Hæreses, hæres. xx. §. 1. p. 45. edit. Petav. Colon. 1682.

‡ Hieron. contra Luciferianos, cap. 16. though in his comment. on Matt. xxii. 15, 16. he rejects this opinion.

§ Chrysost. in Marc. xii. 13.

|| Theophylact. in Matt. xxii. 16. p. 131. Paris 1635.

§§ Grotius de Veritate Christian. Relig. lib. v. sect. xiv. sub fin. in not. & apud annot. in Matt. xvi. 6.

the time of his personal ministry ; since neither of them were native Israelites, and it cannot well be supposed, that any Jews were so ignorant as to take a foreigner for the Messiah, who had been so expressly promised them to be raised up among themselves, of the tribe of Judah, and of the house of David. Besides, supposing any of them had been so stupid as to apprehend the first Herod to be the Messiah, no doubt his death, to say nothing of his wicked and odious administration, would long since have convinced them of their mistake ; since he had been very far from accomplishing the deliverance of Israel from all oppression, which they expected from the Messiah. And as for the second Herod, his dominions were small and his power little, in comparison with the former ; Judea now being reduced into the form of a roman province ; so that he was little more than the procurator of Galilee, with the title only of king. It is therefore utterly inconceivable, that any should take him for the Messiah.

The most probable opinion concerning the Herodians seems to be that of Dr. Prideaux *, that they derived their name from Herod the great, and were distinguished from the Pharisees and other Jews by their falling in with Herod's scheme of subjecting himself and his dominions to the Romans, and likewise by complying with many of their heathen usages and customs. In their zeal for the roman authority they were diametrically opposite to the Pharisees, who esteemed it unlawful to submit, or pay taxes, to the roman emperor ; an opinion, which they grounded

* Prideaux's Connect. part. 2. book 5. sub fin.

C. XIII. Of the Herodians. 477

grounded on their being forbidden by the law to set a stranger over them, who was not one of their own nation, as their king. The conjunction of the Herodians, therefore, with the Pharisees against Christ is a memorable proof of the keenness of their resentment and malice against him; especially, when we consider that they united together in proposing to him an insinuating question on a subject which was the ground of their mutual dissention; namely, whether it was lawful to pay tribute to Cesar? and provided he answered in the negative, the Herodians would accuse him of treason against the state; and should he reply in the affirmative, the Pharisees were as ready to excite the people against him, as an enemy to their civil liberties and privileges.

It is probable the Herodians were distinguished likewise, by their compliance with some heathen idolatrous usages which Herod had introduced; who, as Josephus saith, built a temple to Cesar near the head of the river Jordan*, erected a magnificent theatre at Jerusalem†, instituted pagan games‡, and placed a golden eagle over the gate of the temple of Jehovah§; and as he elsewhere intimates, furnished the temples which he reared in several places out of Judea, with images for idolatrous worship, in order to ingratiate himself with the emperor and the people of Rome; though to the Jews he pretended, that he did it against his will, and in obedience to the imperial command§. This symbolizing with idolatry upon views of
interest

* Antiq. lib. xv. cap. x. §. 3. p. 776.

† cap. viii. §. 1, 2. p. 766.

‡ De bell. judaic, lib. i. cap. xxxiii. §. 23. p. 139.

§ Antiq. lib. xv. cap. ix. §. 5. p. 772.

interest and worldly policy, was probably the leaven of Herod, which our Saviour cautioned his disciples against.

It is further probable, that the Herodians were chiefly of the sect of the Sadducees, who sate loosest to religion of all the Jews; since that which is called by St. Mark (*a*) the leaven of Herod, is in the parallel place in St. Matthew (*b*), stiled the leaven of the Sadducees *.

(*a*) Mark viii. 15.

(*b*) Matt. xvi. 6.

* See on this subject Prideaux's connect. part. 2. book 5. sub fin. Basnage's history of the Jews, book 2. chap. 14.

The End of the First Volume.



E R R A T A.

Page line

- 10 3 from the bottom, for ισχυρος read ισχυροφ
 25 22 for daughter read daughters
 31 12 for jeshuru read jashuru
 60 17 and in some other places, for then read than
 62 5 for Jehthah read Jephthah
 82 5 from the bottom and in some other places, for
 pole-tax read poll-tax
 94 1 for φορος read τελος
 2 for τελος read φορος
 Note † line 1 for hic read his
 119 4 for gnèther gnèther read gnedher gnedher
 120 10 from the bottom, for τη read την
 121 15 from the bottom, for John read Jehu
 177 2 for tells read tell
 191 5 from the bottom, for lecohèn read lecahèn
 212 20 and line 21 for high-priests read high-priest
 230 5 from the bottom, for צִיץ read צִיץ
 253 4 from the bottom, for rites read rite
 273 16 for eight read eighth
 281 14, 15 for countries read country
 306 2 for creature read creatures
 307 7, 8 for first things read firstlings
 317 Note *, line 2 for Du Viel read De Veil
 344 1 for chofeh read chozeh
 370 3 from the bottom, for Maimonides when, read
 Maimonides, When
 373 10 from the bottom, for contray read contrary
 378 6 for cherubbim read Chetubbim
 381 5 for us read them
 387 2 for חכמים read חכמים
 389 1 for ספר read ספר
 394 1 dele written
 395 19 for ספרים read ספרים
 401 10 for be Jews read be the Jews
 24 for or read of
 405 12 for tradition read traditions
 415 10 before for insert as
 13 for nafa read nafar
 2 from the bottom, for nazèr read nazir
 430 11 for חסידים read חסידים
 438 4 for in read on.
 444 20 for According read Accordingly

DATE DUE

APR 15 1966

LIBRARY

GAYLORD

PRINTED IN U.S.A.

